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Normalization of Relations With FRG Seen

AU2305130788 Tirana ATA in English
0935 GMT 23 May 88

["Celebration of the Federal Republic of Germany—Article of the Newspaper BASHKIMI"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 23 (ATA)—On May 23, the FRG celebrates the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of the Constitution, the reporter Qemal Sakajeva writes in the newspaper BASHKIMI. After pointing out that during this period the German federal state, the economy and its international relations are developed according to this Constitution, the author stresses that the establishment of the diplomatic relations between our two countries in October last year was an important step for the normalization and development of our relations.

Further on the author writes that the Albanian people evaluate the distinguished contribution the German scholars have made to the research and studies in the field of the Albanian history, language, and culture. The Albanological studies are an ancient tradition of the German science, which is characterized by a great seriousness in dealing with the questions of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian people and the Albanian language and by a well-wishing stand towards the efforts and struggle of the Albanians for national culture and identity. Now, this tradition may develop and expand further. For known reasons, the diplomatic relations between our two countries were established lately. But it is never late to gain the lost time, which may be achieved and compensated by extending the cooperation in the fields of common interest and in the way of good understanding, respecting the laws and principles which each side is guided by. A good development is being noticed in the economic relations between the two countries on the basis of the known principles of mutual interest and equal exchanges. A series of agreements are signed and will be signed in this field, which will further promote the economic and trade cooperation. There exist also wide possibilities that the relations be further promoted in other fields, too.

An important moment in the bilateral relations have been also the visits and talks conducted in our country by the foreign minister and vice chancellor of the FRG, Hans Dietrich Genscher, and the premier of Bavaria, Franz Josef Strauss, who met also with the first secretary of the party's Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia. "The development of the relations between Albania and the FR of Germany," Comrade Ramiz Alia said in the meeting with the West German foreign minister, "is a desire of our two peoples and there is no doubt that there will be no lack of the two sides readiness to work together to this end."

SFRY's Anti-Albanian Campaign Broadens

AU2105154388 Tirana ATA in English
0945 GMT 21 May 88

["Revival of Worn-Out Cross-Bearers of Anti-Albanian Propaganda in Belgrade"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 21 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an article written by Gjok Sokoli, which says:

The ups and downs of the anti-Albanian Yugoslav propaganda have already become something ordinary. The Yugoslav press organs sometimes attack Albania's policy, sometimes its ancient history. This time they take aim at the outstanding Albanian personalities, next time the Albanian culture and civilization. But the constant of the aim of this propaganda, something which is openly seen, is the predisposition a priori, which aims to keep mounting the tension in the Albanian-Yugoslav relations, to provoke and augment the anti-Albanian hysteria.

Prior to the Balkan meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs, our newspaper carried a note which pointed out the launching of such a campaign, which also included Lazar Mojsov, Presidency chairman, with his unsuccessful speech in Gevgelija.

It is clear that at that time someone in Yugoslavia was not interested in a meeting which aimed at creating a favourable atmosphere among the Balkan countries, without excluding that between Albania and Yugoslavia.

Now these circles are again reactivated. As it comes out, they did not like even the result of the meeting, the beginning of an encouraging process in the development of friendly relations among the Balkan countries.

But as it seems, what touched them most was Albania's participation in that meeting, whose constructive contribution was hailed by the entire world public opinion.

Now too Lazar Mojsov with his statements in a Spanish newspaper beat the drums to broaden the anti-Albanian campaign. It is his own affair why the chairman of the Presidency of the SFRY went even to Spain to attack Albania. The tactics, forms, and innovations of the propaganda are endless. But the fact is that after this signal other writings began to be published where the attacks and slanders against Albania, against the Party of Labour and against the unforgettable leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, follow one another. Those who write are former feebleminded diplomats, pseudo-professors and charlatan journalists, it is written in BORBA and POLITIKA, in the Serb literary newspapers and wherever there is an empty place, just as the discrimination and insults against Albanians, their culture and customs in Macedonia, Kosovo, and Montenegro increase.

We have not answered so far these provocative attacks not because we do not know to speak out, but because we have wished and wish seriously the creation of an atmosphere of good understanding between our two countries, which would serve also the normalisation of the situation in Kosovo, the interests of the Albanians living there, and the whole of Yugoslavia as well.

Since we are dealing with the theme of Albanian-Yugoslav relations, we would like to remind the Great Serb political and literary activists, who grant themselves the right to teach us that by what people the Albanian leadership should be made of, what age and from what regions they should be, how to evaluate Enver Hoxha and the history of the Party of Labour of Albania, that the old mentalities and the dreams to treat Albania as part of the Yugoslav Federation have long since gone bankrupt.

And finally, it should be said that the Yugoslav Federation has now many troubles. We wish it overcome them as soon as possible and in the easiest possible way. But they are not lessened and cured by attacking Albania and the Albanians, by inciting hatred and hostility with the neighbours.

Cultural Agreement With Italy Signed in Tirana

AU1905193488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] The program for cultural, scientific, and technological exchanges for 1988-90 was signed today in Tirana between the Governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of the Italian Republic.

The program was signed on the Albanian side by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, and on the Italian side, by Sergio Balanzino, director general of the Cultural Relations Section of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The signing ceremony was also attended by Pirro Bita, Ministry of Foreign Affairs directorate chief; Gasper Uci, cultural director at the Committee for Arts and Culture; and members of both delegations.

Giorgio de Andrei, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

The program considers exchanges in the fields of education, culture, science, technology, and so forth.

During its stay in our country the Italian delegation visited educational and cultural institutions in Tirana, Durres, and Kruje. The delegation was also received by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and by Nazmi Shkurti, deputy minister of education.

The delegation has left our country.

ATA Delegation Departs for Greece

AU1905090088 Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 19 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Athens News Agency (ANA), a delegation of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, led by the director of this agency, Taqo Zoto, went to Greece.

AWP Delegation Returns From Brazilian CP Congress

AU2305183288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] The AWP Central Committee delegation headed by Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee candidate member and first secretary of Tirana District AWP Committee, which took part in the Seventh Congress of the Brazilian CP, returned home today.

The delegation was welcomed by Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary to the AWP Central Committee, and other comrades.

Trade Union Delegation Departs for Ghana

AU2005190788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] At the invitation of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, a delegation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, headed by Strati Marko, secretary, left today for a friendly visit to the seat of this organization in Accra, Ghana.

The delegation was accompanied to Rinas Airport by Stavri Rista, secretary to the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

Sixtieth Volume of Hoxha's Works Published

AU1805080088 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 18 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 18 (ATA)—Today, on the day of the 20th anniversary of the publishing of the first volume of the works by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 60th volume came out of press and was put on sale.

The volume contains writings of the December 1976-February 1977 period, whose majority are published for the first time. It contains political and ideological analysis not only of actual problems, but also of the perspective. Its thematics serves as an inspiration to reflect upon the present tasks in the context of implementing the historical decisions of the 9th Congress of the party.

Zhivkov Congratulates Kadar, Grosz on Election

AU2305183088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, sent the following telegram to Janos Kadar, chairman of the MSZMP:

"Dear Comrade Kadar, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, on behalf of all Bulgarian Communists, and on my own behalf, I congratulate you as a sincere friend of the Bulgarian people and as a distinguished figure of the international communist and workers movement, on the occasion of your election to the post of MSZMP chairman. I am convinced that the friendship and cooperation between our two fraternal parties, countries, and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen also in the future on the basis of the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the interest of peace and socialism."

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also sent a telegram to Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary. The telegram reads as follows:

"Dear Comrade Grosz, I sincerely and fraternally congratulate you on the occasion of your election to the post of MSZMP general secretary. Your election to this high-ranking position is an expression of Hungarian Communists' high appreciation and confidence in recognition of your selfless efforts devoted to the well-being of the fraternal Hungarian people and to the cause of socialism. I wish you, with all my heart, success in implementing the policy of perfecting and innovating socialist society in your country which was mapped out at the recent MSZMP National Conference. I am convinced that the overall Bulgarian-Hungarian relations will continue to develop and intensify in the interests of our two parties, countries, and peoples, to the benefit of peace and socialism throughout the world."

Zhivkov Greets SFRY's Dizdarevic on Reelection

AU2005151588 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 May 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, sent Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, a telegram on the occasion of his election to this post that conveys most sincere, warm greetings and good wishes for beneficial work for the prosperity and comprehensive development of the SFRY.

I take this pleasant opportunity, states the telegram, to express my conviction that the relations of trust and good-neighborliness established between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY will continue to actively develop in an upward direction in the spirit of mutually beneficial cooperation, in the interest of the two socialist countries and of consolidating peace and security in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

Todorov Ends CSSR Visit, Returns 20 May

AU2005183788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] The official visit of the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, headed by Comrade Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, to the CSSR has ended.

Comrade Todorov [in Prague] expressed his high evaluation of the visit and pointed out that the results of this visit represent an important contribution to an even more dynamic development of Bulgarian-Czechoslovak relations.

Stanko Todorov added: We highly appreciated the meetings and talks between our two parliamentary delegations considering them particularly useful and effective. The importance of these meetings and talks is determined by the present situation and the great efforts devoted in both our countries to restructuring and overall economic development.

The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, headed by Comrade Stanko Todorov, returned to Sofia tonight.

New Yerevan-Varna Air Service Opens

AU2105170588 Sofia BTA in English 1640 GMT 21 May 88

["New Air Route"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—A plane of the Soviet Aeroflot Company landed at Varna Airport today, completing the first flight over the new Yerevan-Varna air route. It flew the distance of 1,800 km in 2 hours 30 min. Such flights will take place every Saturday.

Air routes link the Bulgarian Black Sea town with the Soviet cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, Tashkent and Siktivkar.

The cooperation between the Balkan and Aeroflot airlines dates back to 1949, and it is developing successfully.

Balkan Airways planes fly to 44 cities of Europe, Asia and Africa. They also carry out charter flights to America.

Atanasov Receives SRV Deputy Premier

AU2005192088 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Tran Duc Luong, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Vietnam.

The two sides viewed the results of the techno-scientific and economic cooperation between the two countries and the prospects for its future development till 1990 and the next decade. The two sides discussed also the possibilities for broadening and deepening of the contacts in different spheres of economy, for providing Bulgarian technologies and machines for the development of agriculture in Vietnam. Special attention was paid to the enhancement of the direct contacts between Bulgarian and Vietnamese enterprises.

The meeting was attended by Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Intergovernmental Bulgaro-Vietnamese Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

Cooperation Talks End

AU2105201488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] The 14th session of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Vietnamese Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation was held in Sofia from 19 through 21 May.

The commission examined the possibilities for expanding the cooperation in planning activities, the economy, science, and technology, as well as questions relating to the goods exchange and payments between the two countries.

During the session a meeting was held of the subcommission for scientific and technical cooperation, at which a program was agreed for joint research and development work.

Comrade Ognyan Doynov, chairman of the Bulgarian section of the commission, and Tran Duc Luong, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV and the leader of the Vietnamese delegation, signed a protocol on the decisions adopted at the session, which reflect the desire of both sides for further accelerated economic and social development.

An agreement was also signed on economic cooperation between the Bulgarian and Vietnamese Governments until 1990, as well as a program for coordinating the two countries' 5-year plans for the 1991-95 period.

The leader of the Vietnamese delegation met with Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and Elena Zlateva, chairman of the "Industry for Man" association, and acquainted himself with the production work at the Vitosha Plant in Sofia.

Israeli CP Delegation Visit Reported

AU2005182688 Sofia BTA in English 1548 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the BCP, a working group of the Communist Party of Israel, led by Mr Zaki Qarkabi, alternate member of the Politburo of the party's Central Committee, visited this country from May 16 through 20 this year.

They were received by Mr Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

The guests were familiarized with the restructuring under way in Bulgaria and with this country's foreign political activity. For their part, they briefed their hosts on the activity of the Communist Party of Israel in defense of the vital rights of the people and for a comprehensive, durable and just settlement of the Middle East problem. In this connection, an emphasis was laid on the need for an early convocation of an international Middle East conference under U.N. auspices, to be attended by all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The BCP and the Communist Party of Israel expressed willingness to enhance their cooperation.

Correction to JAN-MAR 88 Plan Fulfillment Report

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "January-March 1988 Plan Fulfillment Report," published in the 10 May East Europe DAILY REPORT on page 6.

Page 12, column one, paragraph six, last sentence reads:...relay stations, and 10 television relay stations were put into service.(providing correct figure)

Jakes Congratulates Hungary's Grosz, Kadar

LD2305172388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has sent congratulations to Karoly Grosz, on his election to the office of general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. In his message, Jakes praised Grosz's responsible year-long work in the MSZMP and his personal contribution to the advancement of all-around cooperation between the two parties and states.

Milos Jakes wished Karoly Grosz, the communist party, and the Hungarian people all the best in their implementation of the conclusions of the state-wide party conference. He expressed the conviction that the fraternal ties and all-around cooperation of the two countries and parties would continue to deepen in the interest of reinforcing the closeness of the entire socialist community, and of the joint fight for peace, socialism, and progress in the world.

At the same time Comrade Jakes has sent congratulations to Janos Kadar on his election to the office of MSZMP chairman and praised Kadar's contribution to the victory of the working class in Hungary and to the advancement of socialist Hungary. He expressed the hope that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal parties and states would continue to become stronger, to the benefit of socialism and peace.

Hungarian Party Conference Evaluated

LD2305210988 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 23 May 88

["National party conference characterized by openness, criticism"—CTK headline—by Juraj Racz]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (CTK)—The essence and significance of last week's national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, one of the most important political events in the country in the past few decades, can be best characterized by three words - reform, reconstruction, change.

The deliberations of 860 delegates, each of them representing one thousand party members, took place at a time when the atmosphere in Hungary is characterized by profound qualitative changes in all spheres of political, economic and social life. Hungary now finds itself at a historic turning point in the present stage of socialist contruction, with former methods of management failing to correspond to the new, high demands any more.

The debate at the conference was characterized by openness, awareness of responsibility and critical tone in all issues under discussion no matter what sphere of party work they concerned. The most important conclusion following from the conference is the fact that the party wants to remain at the head of the current process of reconstruction, democratization and reforms and wants to continue to lead the Hungarian people along the path of socialism.

Criticism in the debate did not exclude the party leadership and therefore one of the conference's important tasks was to carry out cadre changes in individual party bodies.

Although the deliberations centered on home problems, the conference could not avoid some important international issues. It was unambiguously stated in the final document that restructuring in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries creates favourable preconditions for the implementation of Hungary's program of social and economic development. One of the most significant ideas in the document is that concerning promotion of friendly and internationalist bonds within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty, and the upgrading of cooperation among the socialist countries to a qualitatively higher level.

Chnoupek Confers With Bangladesh Counterpart

LD2305204288 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Prague, May 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and his Bangladeshi colleague Humayun Rashid Chowdhury held talks here today.

Bohuslav Chnoupek voiced the conviction that the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow will give a strong impulse to the further dynamic development of favourable tendencies in international relations. He stressed the need to continue the disarmament process, finish a treaty banning chemical weapons and start talks on conventional armament in Europe before the end of this year. Despite the successes achieved, we are only heading towards the historic point when we shall be able to speak about a basic change for the better, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said.

He mentioned Czechoslovakia's initiative for the creation of a zone of good-neighbour relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states and said response to this initiative was promising.

He said that favourable tendencies were evident in relations between Czechoslovakia and Bangladesh and both countries wanted to promote them. He called for an intensified political dialogue at the level of parliaments, foreign ministries and social organizations.

Humayun Rashid Chowdhury thanked for the solidarity, friendship and assistance of the nations of Czechoslovakia to the people of Bangladesh.

He stressed that his country attaches great importance to disarmament which would release tremendous means for the solution of the problems of famine, diseases and other urgent issues. In this context he highly praised the role of Czechoslovakia in the effort to achieve disarmament, lasting peace and reduction of international tension. He noted that the views of both countries on the main international issues are identical or close.

The Bangladeshi foreign minister highly appreciated the initiative to establish a zone of confidence and good-neighbour relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, presented by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes. He underlined its importance for the peaceful development in Europe and also for its broader international impact.

The talks took place in an open, comradely atmosphere.

On the first day of Humayun Rashid Chowdhury's visit to Czechoslovakia, Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek gave a luncheon in his honour.

Bohuslav Chnoupek underlined the authority gained by Bangladesh in the international field due to its principled and constructive policy in the United Nations, in the Non-Aligned Movement and in the Islamic Conference Organization.

The Bangladeshi foreign minister spoke about useful cooperation between the two countries in many spheres. Czechoslovakia for instance provides scholarships for the Asian country's students, some joint projects have been carried out in the power industry and work will probably begin on others soon.

Humayun Rashid Chowdhury noted that both countries have identical views on many international issues such as disarmament, detente, the Middle East, the Iran-Iraq war and racial discrimination in the South African Republic.

National Front Talks With Syria Begin

LD2305212088 Prague CTK in English
1947 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Damascus, May 23 (CTK correspondent)—Official talks on the political, social and economic situation in Czechoslovakia and Syria started here today between delegations of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee and the Syrian National Progressive Front central leadership headed by their Deputy Chairmen Tomas Travnicek and Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah.

The Czechoslovak delegation arrived here today.

The two delegations informed each other of the structures, aims and activities of their national fronts.

Tomas Travnicek stated that Syria has achieved an important position in the Arab world and the Middle East due to the progressive policy of the Syrian leadership.

Zuhayr Mashariqah underlined the traditionally good relations between the two countries and the support and assistance with which Czechoslovakia helps Syria overcome difficulties caused by the hostile policy of imperialism and Zionism.

An agreement on cooperation between the two fronts, which is the subject of discussions of a joint commission and which is to be signed at the end of the Czechoslovak delegation's visit to Syria, is to give a new impulse to the development of cooperation between the Czechoslovak National Front and the Syrian National Progressive Front.

Indra, Delegation Depart for Morocco, Tunisia

LD2305083188 Prague CTK in English
0801 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Prague, May 23 (CTK)—A delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly led by Chairman Alois Indra left here today for an official visit to Tunisia and Morocco, at the invitation of the presidents of the two countries' parliaments. [passage omitted]

Arrive in Tunisia

LD2305143188 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] In Tunisia the Federal Assembly delegation led by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, arrived today for a 4-day visit. At the festively decorated Tunis-Carthage airport, the Czechoslovak guests were welcomed by Rashid Sfar, speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Tunisia, and by other officials.

Meet Tunisian Parliamentarians

LD2305211488 Prague CTK in English
2014 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Tunis, May 23 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia and Tunisia have identical or close views on the solution of the most urgent international issues, delegations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and of the Tunisian National Assembly agreed during their talks here today.

The delegations, headed by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra and by President of the Tunisian National Assembly Rashid Sfar, agreed that the prior task of the present is to preserve and stregthen peace and security in the world. Of principle importance in this respect is the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles. The Czechoslovak

delegation in this connection recalled the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of good neighbourly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, whose significance goes beyond the European framework.

Representatives of the two parliaments underlined the necessity to activate the role of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in the struggle for peace and elimination of hotbeds of tension in the world. They confirmed their common interest in changing the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and cooperation. The Czechoslovak delegation appreciated Tunisia's role in efforts for peace in the Middle East. Both sides agreed that the only realistic way of solving the Middle East conflict is the calling of a representative international conference.

Alois Indra invited a delegation of the Tunisian National Assembly led by Rashid Sfar for an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly led by Alois Indra arrived here earlier in the day for a four-day official visit, at the invitation of President of the Tunisian National Assembly Rashid Sfar.

Jakes Speaks at Prague Party Conference
AU1905214188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 May 88 pp 1, 2

[From a speech by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to the CPCZ Prague city organization's conference on 14 May]

[Text] In the opening part of his speech, Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, cordially greeted the delegates of the Prague city party organization, the guests, and in particular the meritorious party members, and expressed the wish that the course of its deliberations would be successful. He stressed that the CPCZ's regional and city conferences have concluded the broad democratic deliberations of more than 1.7 million Communists at annual conferences of primary organizations of enterprise, local, district, and borough conferences. They are connected with the present movement in our entire party, which is characterized by the active reaction to the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In these deliberations the Communists again expressed their full support for the strategic line of the 17th congress for accelerating socioeconomic development, for the course aimed at economic and social restructuring, which we have begun implementing. More than 5,600 delegates and guests took part in the discussions of the district and borough conferences. On the whole, it can be said that the deliberations of the party meetings and conferences were more open and critical, and were more emphatically seeking ways which would be effective in solving problems and coping with the new political, economic, and ideological tasks. The deliberations also yielded a number of suggestions and recommendations pertaining to the work of the central bodies, which the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat will thoroughly analyze. It looks as though it will be necessary to consult more frequently with people working in material production and to make use of their experience and critical recommendations.

A total of 127 district and borough conferences were held. At 47 of them the elections of new district and regional committees were secret. Eleven regional and city party conferences also favored this form of election. In 29 cases, the presidiums and ranking officials of the district and borough committees were elected secretly. Since the last elections, more than one-third of the leading secretaries of the CPCZ and the CPSL district committees, and two-thirds of the leading secretaries of regional and city party committees have been exchanged.

The reason for this was the necessity to improve the work of party agencies, rejuvenate them, and exchange comrades who have been working in one and the same function for too long. From the assessment of the district and borough conferences—the way the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium dealt with them—it arises that within the party there is a growing awareness of the necessity to achieve a turn in the content, style, and methods of party work as the vital prerequisite for implementing revolutionary changes in all sectors of social life. This is all the more urgent, since the atmosphere of creativity and innovation still does not prevail everywhere. In many places we have not succeeded to a sufficient extent in overcoming indolence and indifference, stereotypes and inflexibility, stagnation, and sometimes even aversion to necessary changes. Our common task is to literally summon up efforts aimed at the elimination of these abuses, because they are a serious impediment to our successful advance.

The party is the initiator of restructuring, and therefore must also be its guarantor. This follows from its position as the leading force in our society. Therefore, we emphasize so much the demand to fully activate the party ranks and achieve a state of affairs in which all Communists assimilate and consistently and selflessly promote the plans for restructuring, and win over the broadest strata of the working people for their implementation, in which the unity of the party and the people would be further reinforced, as it is necessary for the success of our common work. This is the chief part of our work today, and the further growth of the party's authority depends on it. We must keep in mind at all times the fact that we are in a period which constitutes one of the toughest historical tests of the party's maturity, strength, and ability to act, and which will be connected with more than one conflict when promoting our interests.

In this connection, Milos Jakes said that this spirit and the urgency of the requirements of the present are reflected in the report of the CPCZ City Committee, delivered by Comrade Miroslav Stepan; in the report of

the City Control and Auditing Commission, delivered by Comrade Jiri Randak; as well as in the discussion up to now at the conference; and that the Prague party organization and its city committee actively support the policy and course of the party's Central Committee.

We value the work done—despite all difficulties—by the Prague Communists and other citizens of our capital in the past period. Since the 17th congress, further progress has been achieved in the construction and development of Prague, as well as in the work of its industrial base. In this connection, I wish to express appreciation for the activity of the CPCZ City Committee and for the things which are to the considerable credit of Comrade Antonin Kapek, who headed it for more than 18 years.

In the following part of his speech, Milos Jakes addressed those topical issues and problems of Prague's development on which it is necessary to concentrate the attention of the central and city bodies, as well as help from other regions, in order to reach a solution. He said that we consider correct the proposal to update the plan for socioeconomic development of the capital and its economic structure, which, through its comprehensive concept, should also help more distinctly to solve the serious problems which concern the environment, the development of services, the housing situation, the health services, tourism and, in a way, the modernization of Prague's production base. An elaboration of a law on Prague—the capital of the federation—is equally desirable.

The central and state bodies are aware of Prague's importance and special status as the center of our country's political, economic, state, scientific, and cultural life. Considerable resources are being expended on its development, and this will continue. But in this case it is also true that financial resources must be used effectively. At the 17th CPCZ Congress we stressed again that building up our capital must be regarded as the task of the entire society. And this is also what the CPCZ Central Committee will strive for. We all know that what is going on in Prague, and the atmosphere there, influences the situation in the whole country. This was also the case in February 1948, when the workers class—through its decisive action—became an example for the rest of the working people throughout the state. It has remained loyal to the legacy of the Victorious February. We are convinced that the party Central Committee can also rely on its strength and maturity in the present revolutionary stage, and that the working people of Prague will actively contribute to the economic and social restructuring. From this arises the high degree of responsibility of the Prague city organization, of the primary and street [ulicni] organizations, and of all Communists who live and work in our capital.

The main purpose of everything we do is care for man, for raising his living and cultural standards and his all-around development. This is also the objective of the fundamental economic reform and the further development of socialist democracy in our society. Already today, the decisions of the highest party, state, and social bodies which have been adopted until now constitute a reliable foundation for the tasks of restructuring that are to be creatively resolved in all sectors of society's life without having to wait for further instructions. The Leninist course of the 17th CPSU Congress, which the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will undoubtedly develop further, is a great inspiration for us. We are looking forward to its conclusions with great interest, in view of the fact that we pursue objectives identical to, and along a path similar to, those of the Soviet Communists.

Restructuring is a process which will, without doubt, put forward a number of new issues, which we must continue to profoundly analyze and clarify and, in particular, for which we must find the best possible solutions. Let us see to it that words and deeds are one. Adopting programs and resolutions alone is not enough. The decisive thing is that they be consistently implemented. This seems to be a matter-of-fact demand. However, let us take a look at past experience. We all know it. How many correct and good decisions have already been proposed, in the inconsistent implementation of which much has been lost? Matters have often not been carried to completion. This applies to the central bodies and to their lower components, as well as to plants, enterprises, and localities. Let us put an end to such a practice. We Communists have the greatest responsibility here, and the activity of every one of us, no matter where he works, will be assessed in accordance with this.

We have enough experience to know that new requirements, but also accumulated problems, cannot be resolved routinely, in the old manner, without an intensive struggle for changes in thinking and in practice, without a truly innovative approach to political, economic, social, and foreign-political tasks—put simply, without assimilating more effective forms and methods of work. This, in particular, concerns the correct grasp and implementation of the party's leading role, in the way in which it was discussed by the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session.

An important task which we are currently beginning, and which concerns Prague especially, comprises making changes in the structure of the central bodies. This is an important step, and in no case can it be narrowed down to mere organizational measures. The changes pursue, above all, the attainment of a fundamental shift in the perception, content, style, and methods of the central bodies' work, and a comprehensive streamlining of their activities in the spirit of the principles of comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and the Law on State Enterprises.

One has to say openly that this will not be a simple process, in view of the deeply-rooted administrative-directive methods of management and departmental

interests, and in view of the fact that—as the consequence of the implemented changes—a fairly large turnaround of cadres will occur. In this connection, we must not ignore certain efforts aimed at casting doubt upon the usefulness of the adopted measures.

When the principle reducing the number of workers of ministries and other central bodies by an average of 30 percent has been implemented, and in connection with the abolition of the middle components of management in the production and nonproduction spheres, it will be necessary to find new work tasks for several thousand released persons. As is known, the CSSR Government has adopted appropriate measures in that respect. We must make sure that—after the cadre changes have been implemented—the best, professionally, politically, and morally mature people, capable of great productivity and of working in the new manner, will remain in the central bodies. At the same time, we must see to it that the training and experience of the released workers are used to strengthen the cadres in the enterprise sphere, the tertiary sphere, education, the health services, and so on.

At the same time, it is necessary to make sure that the premises vacated as a consequence of restructuring the central bodies and abolishing the middle components of economic management are utilized, above all, as apartments, or in order to expand the retail trade's network, the health, educational, cultural, and housing facilities, something which—among other things—will also contribute to revitalizing the city's historical center.

Comrade Jakes further said that we also attach exceptional importance to organizing the production-technical, scientific-research, and circulation [obehova] base. This, too, greatly concerns Prague, in which there is a great concentration of industry and scientific research institutes.

Here too, when resolving this task, local yardsticks and various narrow departmental, regional, or even personal interests must not be tolerated. The crucial viewpoint must be the ability of enterprises and other economic organizations to ensure their healthy development, while fully applying economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management, that they be responsible and efficient entrepreneurs within the framework of the law, and react flexibly to the demands of the markets at home and abroad—in short, that they earn their keep and fulfill their commitments toward society. This is also the foundation for combining individual, collective, and national interests. We must resolutely oppose various speculations and attempts to ensure a lower starting base for oneself or to obtain preferential treatment for one's products with respect to prices before becoming involved in the new management system, or to strengthen one's monopolistic status vis-a-vis other manufacturers, the trade, customers, or consumers.

We must see to it that the principles of the Law on State Enterprises and of the laws on agricultural and nonagricultural cooperatives are correctly applied everywhere, that enterprises become real socialist entrepreneurs with the necessary powers, but also with duties and responsibility vis-a-vis their work collectives and the whole society. Achievement of the desirable shift as regards the performance and efficiency of our economy depends to a great extent on consistently and responsibly ensuring this important step.

The CPCZ Central Committee general secretary then paid attention to the fulfillment to date of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and stressed that it is unsatisfactory. Although there has been a certain improvement this year, this improvement has occurred mostly in the dynamism of production growth, that is, in the fulfillment of the quantitative indicators.

The party Central Committee sees to it that, in the development of the economy, its social character is the foremost objective we pursue, that is, satisfying the needs of the people, and not production for production's sake.

A number of measures are aimed at this and their important component is, among other things, changes in the old-age pension system, which are expected to go into effect on 1 October this year. Their objective is to strengthen the merit principle. On the whole, this is quite an expensive affair, which will cost more than Kcs4.5 billion next year, and that sum will keep on increasing in the years to come. In the future we also envisage the gradual adjustment of the level of old-age pensions to the growth of earnings, as well as the solution of the problem of old-age pensioners. However, we must realize that the production sphere must create the necessary resources for social policy. We cannot borrow for that.

We pay great attention to improving the situation on the domestic market. We have adopted extraordinary measures, among them measures to curtail exports and increase imports of certain kinds of products that are in short supply. But that, too, has its limits. The vital prerequisite for expanding the range of goods is to increase the performance of the economy, the harmony between its development and the needs of the market, and also the order within trade.

The fundamental problem of our economic development is, above all, the slow advance in the crucial strategic direction of intensification, such as the enhancement of the effectiveness of scientific-technical progress, restructuring, and making production and the entire regeneration process more economical. The pace of reducing the consumption of raw and other materials and of fuels and energy in generating national income is particularly inadequate. We cannot reconcile ourselves to this. On the contrary, we must do everything we can to eliminate the causes of this state of affairs and, in this, to make the full use of the initiative of the Central Trade Union

Council, which has been concentrating precisely on the solution of the aforementioned problems. We are markedly lagging behind the intentions of the congress in terms of the growth of labor productivity.

The main road forward leads through fundamental innovation of products and technologies, systematic and comprehensive use of the findings of science and technology in practice, and correct orientation of the development of the working people's initiative.

The problems that we talk about cannot be automatically linked to the workings of the existing system of management or external, objective influences. Nor can we postpone their solution, or wait until the new economic mechanism is introduced. Its implementation alone cannot solve problems immediately. The decisive thing for overcoming shortcomings and for the successful realization of restructuring in general is, above all, an active approach by all, especially by managing cadres, as well as by entire work collectives.

The acceleration of the pace of international economic integration is an important factor for successful realization of our socioeconomic plans. Our active and enterprising [iniciativni] participation in this process is in our most essential state and social interest.

We attach great importance to the 44th CEMA session, which we will convene in Prague at the beginning of July. The session is to adopt a collective concept of international socialist division of labor through the year 2005, which should contribute to the creation of fundamental prerequisites for accelerating structural changes which are of exceptional importance precisely for our national economy.

The Czechoslovak economy, Milos Jakes said, has a considerable internal untapped potential and resources. This concerns scientific-technical progress in particular. This is a serious challenge to Communists in the strongly concentrated scientific-research base in Prague, and also in the production sphere, in which we often miss the necessary willingness and initiative to apply the results of science and technology, and discontinue the accustomed, comfortable manner of production. In this connection I would like to express appreciation for the initiative of the Prague party organization, oriented toward closer ties and cooperation of the scientific-technical front with the production sector, and the share of the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society in expanding it. It is necessary to develop and expand this cooperation from the viewpoint of the new conditions, and imbue it with new breath. It is also high time in the scientific-research base—with the exception of basic research—to go over to economic accountability.

The quality of production leaves much to be desired. Internal losses arise from poor-quality production. In the crucial industrial sectors, those losses reached Kcs2.64 billion in 1987. Also the losses connected with the correction of defects in products under guarantee reached almost Kcs1 billion. Foreign trade, too, suffered losses because of poor quality. A successful mobilization of this untapped potential alone would help to fulfill the tasks of the 5-year plan in creation of the national income.

Similarly, we could point out reserves and shortcomings in a number of other sectors, the elimination of which depends above all on discipline and responsibility, on improved organization of work and control, on the elimination of equalization in remuneration, and of egalitarianism which leads to mediocrity and which is often even regarded as an accomplishment of socialism. These are momentous problems, whose solution must be in the foreground of our attention. At the same time, it is necessary to learn to know better the experiences of the best ones, and to put them into practice far more than has been done so far.

The Prague institutes of higher learning represent considerable intellectual potential. At the present time, the needs of further development of our society also put new and exacting demands in many respects on them, on their pedagogical, scientific, and educational activity. The Communists and other staff who are active in these institutes must be fully aware that the sphere of higher education bears great responsibility for the training and education of qualified experts for all spheres of our society's life. They must assess the effectiveness of their work from that point of view. Another imperative for the institutes of higher learning is to more actively contribute to the development of science and its application in practice. An important instrument in this respect is the conclusion of economic contracts between higher institutes of learning and enterprises.

The cultural-artistic front, which is strongly represented in Prague, has great duties in restructuring too. We expect that by its committed creative activity, and by its works of art devoted to our contemporary struggle for enhancing socialism, it will contribute to the enrichment of the people's cultural and intellectual life.

Restructuring opens a wide scope for making use of the enthusiasm, talents, and the knowledge of the young generation, of its natural affinity for scientific-technical progress and its sense for everything new. This requires the young people to have an active attitude toward their education, creating a responsible attitude toward life, toward the values of socialism, and toward their socialist fatherland. Of course, it is necessary that the adults are a good example. The education and the training of the young generation must become one of the foremost enduring tasks of the party, the National Front, of the socialist state, the school, family, and entire society. Trained and competent young people must be entrusted with responsible functions to a greater extent.

The demands on the national committees' work have increased in the present period. The important thing is that even more citizens become involved in the management and administration of public affairs through the national committees, and that the national committees make better use of their increasing powers and consistently fulfill their duties toward citizens when dealing with their everyday problems and worries. This is an important aspect of the development of socialist democracy which we do not perceive only as an instrument for activating people, but also as an integral part of the socialist way of life, of the rights and the position of man in our society. Communists who are active in the national committees must head efforts to eliminate all phenomena of bureaucratism and formalism, and insensitive attitudes toward the needs of the people, especially in the activity of the national committees' apparatus; and see to it that the elected bodies, with citizens' active participation, have the decisive word when it comes to resolving issues. We also have to see that social justice and socialist legality are observed, and help people who are being wronged.

Comrade Milos Jakes further noted that opponents of socialism at home and abroad have been very active of late. They are speculating on the problems and complexities which we have to solve at the present, and are striving to make the working people turn against the party's present policy. To this end they want to exploit this year's anniversaries, especially the 20th anniversary of the events of 1968. Their objectives are to misuse restructuring and the development of socialist democracy to destabilize the socialist system, form opposition forces, and induce political and social tension in society.

Czechoslovakia has recently been attacked, above all, under the pretext of an alleged persecution of believers and clergymen and of not appointing bishops in some Catholic dioceses. The purpose of this campaign is to politically misuse the religious feelings of a part of our population, in order to incite attacks on socialism.

The oppositionist activity is organized, in particular, by Western political and ideological centers, and its authors do not hide their intention to gradually politically neutralize socialist countries and restore political structures in central Europe that existed before World War II.

Thwarting hostile activity must be the concern of not only the appropriate state agencies but, literally, of all honest citizens. Restructuring constitutes a complex ideological and political struggle, in which nothing that weakens our advancement must be ignored. Therefore, it is necessary that all party organizations and agencies attentively follow and analyze the political situation in their locality, react sensitively to changes in people's thinking and frames of mind, and wage active and militant propaganda in the interest of winning over and mobilizing the working people and citizens to actively participate in restructuring and democratization, to work creatively for the further development of our socialist society. That is why the importance of ideological work is in the forefront today. It must, above all, push through new ideas and attitudes, and also counteract hostile views.

We all know, Milos Jakes said, that we can implement our plans and intentions only under peaceful conditions. The logic of historical development is that a composite, concrete program for maintaining peace and security for all nations comes from the Soviet Union, from the world of socialism, from those countries which have forever gotten rid of exploitive systems, and by the very essence of their systems express the working man's innermost interests.

People are well aware today that a world conflict waged with nuclear mass destruction weapons would be fatal for mankind. Therefore, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact have submitted realistic proposals for a gradual scrapping of all mass destruction and chemical weapons, for a substantial reduction of conventional weapons, and in accordance with their consistently defensive doctrine, thus demonstrate that the security of states is possible with ever lower levels of military potentials. In this we see a realistic road to halting the feverish arms buildup, to achieving a fundamental turn toward disarmament, and toward the solution of other urgent global problems of the present. We have standpoints which are identical to those of other socialist community states on all fundamental issues. Our foreign-political initiatives are oriented toward strengthening security, trust, and cooperation among nations, and toward establishment of zones without nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe. This we regard as our contribution to the construction of a secure "European home," about the necessity of which Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev spoke so convincingly during his visit to Prague last year.

Despite all the problems, the new political thinking in the international sphere, which the USSR is supporting, is thrusting its way through artificial barriers of prejudice and myths. This is attested to, above all, by the historic Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the fundamental preparedness of the USSR and the United States to reduce strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent while strictly observing the treaty on the limitation of antimissile defense systems, the progress made in the talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons tests, and the growing conviction about the necessity to quickly conclude a worldwide agreement on banning and scrapping chemical weapons.

We believe that the—already fourth—meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, which will shortly take place in Moscow, will be substantial and provide new impetus for further progress in all spheres of disarmament as well as for peaceful solution of regional conflicts.

In the concluding part of his speech, the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary again stressed that the party's activation and mobilization, its ideological and action unity, its ability to march, in close unity with the people, at the head of the fulfillment [as published] of the projected tasks, is the necessary prerequisite for a successful realization of restructuring. The Ninth CPCZ Central Committee session specifically discussed the work of the party under restructuring and the development of socialist democracy. All party members must be thoroughly acquainted with the session's resolution, and it must also be resolutely and independently implemented in life.

In this connection, Comrade Milos Jakes expressed the conviction that the Prague party organization will continue to be the CPCZ Central Committee's firm support in the revolutionary struggle for restructuring, and wished the Prague Communists much success in the fulfillment of the conclusions of their conference.

Husak Addresses South Moravian Party Meeting

LD2005154188 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] The proceedings of the 1st day of the CPCZ and CPSL regional and city conferences held in Prague and Bratislava ended late this afternoon. They confirmed that the conclusions of the ninth party Central Committee session about restructuring, radical economic reform, and deepening socialist democracy enjoy the full support of Communists and the public. The heads of the delegations of the party Central Committee spoke during debates at today's conferences. Comrade Gustav Husak spoke at the regional conference of the South Moravian Region. We will acquaint you with a section of his speech:

[Begin Husak recording] We adopted economic and social programs at the 17th congress. We have been fulfilling the social program exactly. Indeed, in some instances we have been overfulfilling it. In view of our possibilities, national incomes were set to grow by 3.5 percent annually, and by 7 percent in 2 years, but it grew by a mere 5 percent during these 2 years. We cannot go on managing our economy like this. Such were the experiences of the past 2 years, but the beginning of the current year is not that much better. Of course, this does not concern all enterprises. I do not want to generalize. There exist enterprises which are well managed, but about 200 enterprises have not been fulfilling their plans. A great number of enterprises have not been fulfilling the national income target, which is known to be a qualitative indicator.

We have formulated a draft bill that will improve social security. It will be discussed in parliament. Pensions will rise, especially old-age pensions, which have been affected most. This does not represent a miracle. It involves sums between Kcs 50-100, but altogether this amounts to Kc 6.5 billion, which means that although we have not been fulfilling the economic plan, we have been fulfilling, and indeed overfulfilling, the social plan. It all comes out of one pocket, where it is also collected. This is only one such specific case, which shows that we have to apply pressure to ensure that this year's plan is fulfilled in all its qualitative indicators, in productivity, growth of national income, quality of work, and the like. This is not the way to manage the economy. People will have to ponder about these things, especially at workplaces where it concerns them.

This complicated struggle is ahead of us. We are talking about it. People in some places are preparing for it. I am glad that comrades have mentioned it here by suggesting ways to tackle the matter, ways for teaching as well as learning. All this has not yet of course been clarified in every detail. Life itself will show us. Perhaps we shall have to correct some things, but we cannot retreat from the principle. Such is the urgent task confronting us—to win people politically. We are entering a new stage in all aspects, and we have to adapt to the situation as it exists in the world and forge ahead at this pace, everyone from a different base. We have to tackle it. The Soviets are tackling it; we as well as others are tackling it. At issue is the future development of this country. This is the struggle for new thinking. We therefore have to work with people to make them aware of what is at issue, whether it be in daily conversations or in meetings; whether they are young people or women. Simply, we have to put the case to the people and tell them that this is not a unique matter which will end by the summer, or by Christmas, but that it will go on, that we hope after years of success it will be developed further.

Our party is the guarantee that our state will continue to develop; that people will live well and better than today; that social security will be provided; that other issues mentioned here will be tackled; and that this road will lead toward this development. I am convinced that with a bit of goodwill, a bit of hard work, and a great deal of political work we will master this task, and that we can go ahead with optimism.

I wish you a good conference, that you reach good conclusions, and in particular a successful realization of them so that this regional conference becomes a milestone in the work of party organization, from which we will then go along the new revolutionary road. [applause] [end recording]

Bilak Speaks at East Slovak Party Conference

AU2005074088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 May 88 pp 3, 4

["(BC, EDK, SI)"-signed report: "Thinking, Living, Acting Under New Conditions: East Slovak Region"]

[Excerpts] "The purposeful activities of party agencies and organizations and the selfless efforts of workers, of people working in agriculture, of foremen, engineers, teachers, and other working people, have yielded further,

striking successes in the life and work of the party's East Slovak regional organization during the last 2 years." This was stressed in the regional party committee's report submitted [at the party conference in the East Slovak Region, held on 14-15 May] by Michal Spak, leading secretary of the Regional Committee of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL). [passage omitted]

The report also stated that the new way of thinking must be manifested in specific work, but especially in the results produced by this work. It is necessary to get rid of formalism and bureaucracy more quickly, and not hesitate to part ways with all those who are impairing our common feat by their lack of discipline. [passage omitted]

Vasil Bilak, head of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation, was one of the speakers in the discussion. We are standing on the threshold of great transformations, he said. Many things must change. Life is in constant motion—things are dying off, and new things are being born all the time. While they are growing up, new (and until then unknown) problems crop up. Neither our working methods, nor the ways in which we think and act, may lag behind the present needs.

The peculiar feature of the socialist revolution is that, although it began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, it has not ended to this very day. Today we are undergoing yet another revolutionary onslaught. Different times are coming, bringing with them new tasks. Learning in elementary school differs from learning in high school, and learning at the university is even more different. To use a simile, we are now about to leave high school and enter university.

Some people are criticizing everything on that lower level; but without them we would not have been able to rise to a higher level. Not everything that we have lived through, achieved, and reached was bad—even if some of our acts could seem to be quite unsuitable from the present viewpoint. Nevertheless, the result is a great feat, Vasil Bilak said; this is a historically irreversible truth. The whole picture of our fatherland and the life of our people have changed in merely a few dozen years. Yes, our generation had greater fantasy and more illusions—we felt more than we knew about things. However, without these illusions, and without the faith that we are taking the right road, we would have been unable to cope with the issues which it was essential to resolve at the time. Who would sacrifice today as much energy and time for public affairs, in the way the post liberation years demanded? Would anybody have the necessary patience, but also courage, to go today from one farm yard to another, day after day and evening after evening, convincing the farmers that it is both correct and essential to found unified cooperative farms (JZD)? The results we see today exceed all that we used to explain to the farmers, they exceed many times over all that we promised them, all that we saw in our dreams and our imagination.

We have entered a stage in which a more effective use of the law on today's economy and a course oriented toward achieving a high level of efficiency and quality must be the objectively essential features of the party's present policy. This is the substance of the present stage of restructuring the economy and the entire society. It is directly linked with the need to make management more efficient and to enhance the overall democratization of the social production processes.

External conditions must also be taken into account when we formulate the programmatic goals of our party and state. The way we will be coping with the implementation of the strategic line set by the 17th party congress will greatly depend on the world situation.

When Comrade Vasil Bilak spoke of the international situation, he stressed that great hopes for the future are linked with the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is undoubtedly a significant military-political agreement, even though its effect is still more political and psychological, than military. As you know, it concerns the destruction of 3-4 percent of the total nuclear potential. But the staggering thing is that this very fact is making many people in the West afraid of becoming weaker, making them insist with the same breath on a modernization of conventional weapons. However, they are afraid of new ways of thinking—that means the new knowledge about the current realities, which has set unprecedented political and social forces into motion. The fear is that the first step would be followed by further steps, and that the disarmament process would become irreversible.

Comrade Michal Spak was elected leading secretary of the CPSL Regional Committee.

Slovak Government Abolishes Subordinate Bodies

AU2405110988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 May 88 p 1

[CTK report: "From a Session of the Government of the Slovak SR"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—At its session yesterday, the Government of the Slovak SR discussed a report on economic development and implementation of the state plan over the January-April 1988 period. [passage omitted] Building on its previously adopted measures, the Government approved a resolution directing state and economic agencies toward the full meeting of tasks in reducing material and general costs, improving innovative activity, activating resources tied up in inordinate inventories, reinforcing supplies to the domestic market, and concentrating contractors' capacities on crucial investment projects.

In connection with changes in the organization and jurisdiction of the central agencies of state administration in the Slovak SR, the government abolished 21

consultative, coordinating, and auxiliary bodies subordinate to the government or to individual ministries. The following consultative bodies of the Government of the Slovak SR, headed by its members, remain: the Council for National Committees and Ethnic Minorities, the Council for the Environment, and the Legislative Council. The government has also retained the Government Committee of the Slovak SR for Planned National Economic Management, the Committees for the National Prize of the Slovak SR and for the Ludovit Stur Journalism Prize, the Central Flood Commission in Slovakia, and the Commission for Problems of the Gypsy Population.

The government approved a new composition of its Presidium, which is made up of the premier, the deputy premier, deputy premier and chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, the minister of finance, prices, and wages, and the minister-chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Slovak SR. [passage omitted]

Honecker Congratulates Hungary's Grosz

LD2305201788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1943 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 23 May (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and myself I convey to you the most cordial congratulations on your election as MSZMP general secretary.

I express the certainty that the traditionally good relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between our two fraternally allied parties will continue to develop further and deepen in a continuous manner to the benefit of our peoples and the socialist community.

I wish you strength, health, and success in further shaping socialism in the Hungarian People's Republic through your responsible work as head of the Hungarian communists.

Honecker Congratulates Hungary's Kadar

LD2305201388 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 1941 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 23 May (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to MSZMP Chairman Janos Kadar:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, I send you our cordial congratulations on your election as MSZMP chairman.

The communists and people of the GDR know and respect you as an untiring fighter for the ideals of the working class, and as a true patriot and internationalist. The feelings of friendship which you have for our party and the people of the GDR are well known to us.

Esteemed Comrade Kadar, please accept our wishes for the best of health and strength.

'Extensive Changes' in Hungarian Party Noted

LD2305214288 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] The MSZMP national conference has decided on extensive changes. This was announced by the newly elected party general secretary, Karoly Grosz, in a television interview at the end of the discussions. The conference had earlier accepted a statement in which the next tasks of the party are included and the leading organs newly elected. From Budapest, our correspondent Hans-Juergen Wittenburg reports:

[Wittenburg] In his television interview after he had been elected general secretary of the MSZMP, Karoly Grosz said that the concept for the way ahead had now been worked out in a long, thorough, and very lively discussion. The 58 year old Karoly Grosz, who comes from a working class family and who is a printer by trade, takes over this responsible function in no easy situation. Just a year ago he was elected prime minister to give, as head of government, new impetus, in particular to development of the economy. Previously, he had gained a diploma in teaching, worked for a time as a journalist, and led various district organizations in the party, including that of Budapest.

Karoly Grosz said that in spite of all the difficulties there are, however, some indisputable values which Hungary has achieved on its path so far and of which the people can be proud. These achievements, it was said again and again at the party conference, are primarily linked to the work of Janos Kadar, who led the Hungarian communists for 32 years and who also enjoyed great esteem internationally. The MSZMP cannot and does not want to dispense with his experience in the future either, stressed Janos Berecz, Politburo member and MSZMP Central Committee secretary. For that reason he was elected party chairman at the first meeting of the newly elected and strongly rejuvenated Central Committee, one-third of the membership of which has changed.

The Constitution of the new Central Committee also created new personnel requirements in order to fulfill the resolutions of this national conference, which, according to Karoly Grosz, are a modification of the program adopted by the preceding 13th party conference, which proved to be impracticable. Economic growth which was too low. Heavy foreign debt, and stagnating or sinking living standards leading to social tension, are eloquent expressions of this.

There are many reasons for this and they were thoroughly analyzed during the discussions; a great deal of work, in particular in the last 1 and 1/2 years, has gone into their elimination. In the economic area there has existed since last summer a program approved by the Central Committee to which Karoly Grosz—who will continue for the time being in the office of prime minister—has given great service.

However, the first positive signs cannot hide the fact that the necessary qualitative change, as it was called at the party conference, has not yet been achieved. On the agenda, therefore, in Hungary, is the need to create the corresponding social framework. The party conference statement says in this respect that the fateful question for our nation is to shape the mechanism of our social system more sensibly, more effectively, and more successfully and to find modern socialist solutions, relative to the conditions in Hungary, to the new problems of development. In that respect, the MSZMP deems the strengthening and the clear definition of the leading role

of the party as just as essential as the greater independence and responsibility of the government, of the parliament, and of the social organizations. The present national conference of the MSZMP is a step in this direction.

Beil Meets Spanish Employers Official

AU2005155488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 May 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Jose Maria Cuevas, president of the Spanish Confederation of Employers' Organizations, was received for a talk on Wednesday [18 May] by Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade. On the basis of the generally positive development of trade and economic relations over the past few years, the two sides discussed concrete possibilities of how to further increase the exchange of goods. The main point emphasized is the expansion of industrial cooperation between interested companies on both sides, in the spheres of metalworking industry, electrical engineering, and electronics. President Cuevas expressed appreciation for the high level of efficiency of GDR combines and expressed the conviction that industrial cooperation will be of great economic benefit for both countries.

The Spanish visitor also met with Peter Krause, state secretary in the Ministry of Machine Tool and Processing Machinery Building.

The meetings were attended by Alonso Alvarez de Toledo y Merry del Val, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Spain.

Lorenz Speaks at African Rally in Zwickau

LD1905194188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 19 May 88

[Excerpt] Karl-Marx-Stadt, 19 May (ADN)—A rally today at Zwickau (in the vicinity of Karl-Marx-Stadt) with inhabitants of the town and guests from African states opened the "Week of Solidarity With the Anti-Imperialistic Struggle of the Peoples of Africa" in the GDR.

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt SED Bezirk Executive, stressed the GDR citizens' attitude of solidarity. Part of the support for the struggle by the peoples of Africa against neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, is the current training of more than 2,000 young people from 20 African countries, the African National Congress, and the South West African People's Organization, in the GDR.

The speaker condemned bombing attacks and direct military aggression against the Frontline States of Angola and Mozambique as evidence of state terrorism by the South African regime. High esteem is attached to the Organization of African Unity which in a few days is celebrating the 25th anniversary of its founding. Its committed work for the consolidation of all democratic and progressive forces in Africa is of outstanding significance. [passage omitted]

Iraq's Husayn Message on Nuclear-Free Zones

LD2305092288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 20 May (ADN)—In a message to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the president of the Republic of Iraq, Saddam Husayn, expressed thanks for the invitation for representatives of his country to attend the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in Berlin. The message says: "It is a pleasure for me to pay tribute on this occasion to your personal efforts to convene this important meeting and to your patronage of preparations for it. I wish you, Your Excellency, and the participants great success."

The Iraqi president said that on various occasions, his country had declared its strong support for all efforts aimed at strengthening trust between peoples and states, based on the belief that this is indispensible in bringing about a limitation of the arms race and thus reducing the huge dangers it poses for mankind.

The message states: "The Republic of Iraq has at all times supported the initiatives for the creation of nuclear weapons-free zones in the world, because we believe that on the one hand such initiatives strengthen trust between states and, on the other hand, they help to strengthen and consolidate the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which we have signed. In this connection, we have supported the creation of zones of this type in the Middle East and Africa, in particular."

In conclusion, the Iraqi president points out that his country welcomes the agreement reached between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear weapons and at the same time expresses the hope that this agreement will be extended to all nuclear weapons and to all states in possession of these weapons.

Further on Proceedings at MSZMP Conference

Havasi Speaks 20 May

LD2005131188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 May 88

[Excerpts] Good day, dear listeners, from the construction workers' Ferenc Rozsa culture house, where, as you have heard, the MSZMP national conference has been in session since 1000 [0800 GMT]. [passage omitted] After Janos Kadar's report, the debate of the national party conference got under way.

Ferenc Havasi, Politburo member and Budapest party committee first secretary, began his contribution with the question: What touched off the passionate debates? What set off the political activity that reminds us of destiny's historical changes?

He said that the theses triggered off part of the debates, but he also added that for years we were unable to answer questions that preoccupied masses of party members and millions of people. Where we did we make mistakes, how did we get here? These are the questions of responsibility and the future. The thought was also formulated by many people that perhaps we do not even intend to give an answer to some important questions.

He went on to point out that for precisely this reason, the judgment of our activity, here at home and abroad as well, is contradictory. The party has now ended up facing very important decisions. One of the key issues is the modernization of the system of political institutions.

[Begin Havasi recording] It has been proved that we cannot be successful by changing just a little in every sphere. It must be said that comprehensive social and economic changes are necessary. For a long time, we steered clear of such words. It can be seen that without recognizing this, we cannot break our inertia.

A comprehensive reform brings us face to face with our current system of institutions. It is obvious that it fulfills its purpose only if it does not merely follow the changes of the economy and events, but is also able to assist them. [end recording]

He then stated that the outdated forms of organization and interest-protection are unable to help a rational functioning of the economy, and they conserve state paternalism. He considers it necessary for us to change the relationship of the citizen and the state. Citizens' influence must be increased. He emphasized that modernizing the system of political institutions must be accomplished within the conditions of a one-party system, but only if wide-ranging social control is asserted over the political activity of the party, which performs the leading role.

According to Ferenc Havasi, the primary task is to improve the MSZMP's activity, because only in this way can the party perform the tasks falling to it from the reform of the system of institutions. Ferenc Havasi, Politburo member and Budapest party committee first secretary, concluded by expressing his conviction that, with the leadership of the party, the social consensus, which has weakened, can again be strengthened. Budapest's Communists are seeking a resurgence [kibontakozas] and renewal [megujulas]

Mihaly Panker, skilled worker at the Raba Hungarian wagon and machine factory, said that he felt that these days the workers at large factories are looking for their place in society. He called on the people to exercise self-restraint in consumption. Mrs Tamas Szabo, delegate from Kiskunhalas, urged the commencement of unavoidable changes in economic life, including the introduction of wage reform. Now the participants in the national party conference are listening to Csaba Hamori, Politburo member and KISZ Central Committee first secretary.

Youth Representatives Speak

LD2005140588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] In Budapest the national party conference will continue its work in 1 hour. At the moment they are taking a lunch break. Here is Andras Domany to summarize this morning's speeches:

[Domany] Six people spoke in the debate this morning. Among them were Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and first secretary of Budapest party committee who stressed the need for comprehensive economic and social changes, and Mihaly Panker, a skilled worker from Gyoer, who spoke about the need for better appreciation of the large factories and their workers and the responsibility of the leaders.

Csaba Hamori, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Youth League Central Committee, spoke after them. He spoke about problems such as education, housing, employment, and others to demonstrate the reasons for the critical attitude of young people. According to the view of the Communist Youth League, only with a greater social performance and the acceleration of the reforms, by making socialism more effective and more democratic, can we hope for changes and for young people with better skills and initiative to find themselves in a better position. They are interested in rapid changes, since they have not had an independent existence yet.

Csaba Hamori said that it was necessary that in the social debates compromises and not dictates should be manifested, that socialist political pluralism should come about, and that the party should pursue a dynamic policy, because this is how it can attract youth.

Gyorgy Bartha, secretary of the Party Committee of the Budapest Technical University, also spoke about young people. Let us now listen to a few brief excerpts from his wide-ranging, critical speech.

[Begin Bartha recording] We expect new words, new faces, and new deeds, which give credit to the political intentions that have been proclaimed. Though it is not little that has happened in these years, nontheless, I cannot free myself from the thought that history will judge the last few years harshly. The delayed, missed measures will be called into account.

The Politburo resolution brought in last November pointed out that the deteriorated state of higher education endangered resurgence, the long-term development of society, and the economy. The 6 months that have passed since then brought forced measures contrary to the declared political intentions and further withdrawals of resources. It is far from a matter just for higher education, but it is in the basic interest of the whole of society that the tendencies contrary to the political decisions and the governmental intentions and the falling behind the international standards and domestic expectations should be replaced as soon as possible by a period of intensive and selective development.

The party must at last overcome the heavy personel decisions that are weighing it down. A convincing and the widest possible movement of cadres should serve as proof tht the party is at the head of the changes. That is why the renewal of the Central Committee and the Politburo is correct if we want to act on the validated experience [beerett tapasztalat] that we can expect new plans, new approaches, and new action only from new people.

Many people have raised the requirement of voting inside the party on important issues and the question of direct elections. They did not fundamentally question the principle of democratic centralism, but they definitely expect a more modern interpretation of it, one that is more in line with the present historical situation. The decisions made in the leading bodies of the party are only received with understanding and support if the party membership is given the appropriate, substantive information on important issues in time. [end recording]

Pozsgay Addresses Conference

LD2105117288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Imre Pozsgay, secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front, was the seventh speaker in the debate today. He began his contribution by saying that he accepted the draft standpoint and agreed with its political direction. Then he said the following, among other things:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] Where unity is ritualistic and monolithic, it does not serve progress, but the powers. In such places, debating is a demon which is given the name "enemy." Where unity is creative, debate is a creative means for renewal. Let us recall the words of Engels, who said that in the life and success of every party both moderate and more extreme tendencies develop inside it; moreover, they fight each other, and those who try to do away with the more extreme tendencies only help their growth.

The basic Leninist principle that government referring to the interests of the people must be replaced by government by the people is being realized here and now. Party member have played an indispensable role in this turnaround,for though esteem for the party as an organization has decreased and confidence in it has ebbed, the party members and nonparty people—the communists and the people, the nation—have found each other. It has become clear, as so often in the past, that they have nothing to fear from each other.

The only thing to be feared is that the political sector will see in the unspectacular changes, which are nonetheless of revolutionary significance, as just trash, and that instead of acting in a spirit of initiative capable of taking risks it will act out of reflex due to fear of a loss of power.

I hope that after the party conference this fear will prove to be groundless, that the citizens, irrespective of party membership, will have begun to create a socialist society from the bottom up, and that the politics that will be victorious are those which, in Kossuth's words, instead of resisting the inevitable, go forward to meet it.

This also means that in the contemporary world, consensus cannot be achieved by reaching an agreement with a few outstanding and sovereign personalities substituting for the people. There is a need for a dialogue with all the people, without smokescreens, carried out by autonomous organizations representing society and those in power. For this it is necessary to elucidate the social content of the agreement at a time when the struggle is not over the distribution of surplus revenue derived from the continuous increase in the national income, but over spreading the losses and the sacrifices.

We must speak openly about who wins and why, and who loses and why in this distribution, and about how society or the government will reimburse those who lose out. People will participate in the new consensus to the extent to which they see in our program the short- or longer-term possibility of solving their own problems. It follows that for a consensus, a program is needed which does not confuse desires with reality, which recognizes the facts as facts even when they contradict our hopes and wishes. After all, more than once our problems arose precisely from the fact that our words travelled along one bank of the river of truth and the facts travelled along the other bank without ever meeting.

In the preparation of the new consensus, the PPC in accordance with its mission, could support the renewal of conditions of legality, the reform of the constitution and of the electoral law, the framing of laws on referendums and on associations, the establishment of a constitutional court and a administrative court. All these together could guarantee the division of power and provide checks on the power [a hatalom megosztasat es ellenoerzeset], thereby creating organizational and legal guarantees preventing arbitrary actions and abuses of power at all levels.

The expansion of civil rights must go hand in hand with the development of constitutional relations. The requirements for this are a sovereign legislature, a government that pursues an independent policy, strong self-government by local council, and mature citizens capable of self-determination and acting as responsible owners of the country.

Within this constitutional framework the party will not have a decreased but a growing role, and so will the social organizations and movements which cooperate with it autonomously and as partners, as will the communities of citizens and interest representations functioning constitutionally on the basis of the law of association.

In other words, to quote also the words of Mikhail Gorbachev—after all, to our great pleasure they are in harmony with our endeavors—with the joint effects of the socialist constitutional state and socialist pluralism, we can create an efficient, attractive socialism based on solidarity among the people, democracy, and initiative. And though this socialism has not yet emerged from the realm of necessity, it is proceeding towards the realm of freedom.

It is regarded as the sign a nation's decline when its people ignore the law. This usually happens where the uncontrolled state always interprets the law in its own interests, in an arbitrary manner. We want to be a rising nation.

The socialist constitutional state will take us nearer to the fulfilment of this task. Any other way catching up economically with the more developed countries is a hopeless endeavor. After all, a country that cannot create order in its public life with the means of democracy and freedom, goes about in the world like a villager in the big city: He is confused and worried from the moment of his arrival and suspects danger at every corner. Despite being villagers, we have the cultural, civilization, legal, and moral background to move with familiarity in the world.

Socialism can connect up with these antecedents with suitable criticism but nonetheless securely.

A small country is given life by its openness to the world. Precisely for this reason we must be acquainted with the world, but the world must also be acquainted with us. For us not to lose our balance in this great movement, we must strengthen our national identity. For the time being, economic performance cannot be the foundation for our national self-esteem. However, its foundation can be the fulfilment of a comprehensive reform, the creation of greater freedom, the construction of democratic socialism.

A laboratory like this would once again possess worldwide historical significance. Without any false pride or empty conceit, we could quite simply feel once again that the world would be poorer without us. We Hungarians in Hungary would strengthen the feeling among the Hungarians around the world that it is worthwhile being Hungarian, at Csikszereda, Ungvar, Galanta, Kismarton, Ujvidek, New York, and Canberra.

We ought to make good use of time. In this case, let Kossuth be wrong. He said that there was a word like a red thread going through the whole of Hungarian history, and this word was "late."

Dear comrades, we feel something extraordinary in the atmosphere of this conference. This feeling is indefinable but it is exciting and full of surprises. Previously forbidden words can be heard; we lift our heads in surprise and see that they are uttered by those who forbade them. At such times we would like to be silent. But what I say is that I believe in the ability of words to bring changes. It is said that a snake dies if it cannot shed its skin, and people die if they cannot change their opinions. Renewal needs adherents, cooperating millions; and for this it is necessary to let people change.

We also sense some sort of settling of accounts in the air, [leszamolas-felet] in the wind—the pain and mercilessness of the change of generations. We hear half-voiced ideas and unmistakeable allusions. Let us not blame the words and the speakers for the fact that all this is happening in such an ambiguous way. Let us blame those conditions due to which this is still the only way to do this today.

We can only stutter in the language of the changing of generations and the manifestation of responsibility, because for that for which we have no valid institution or dolution, we have no valid word either. The determination of responsibility is a part of every developed political culture, the just requirement of the citizens and the members of parties. Nonetheless, I suggest now that we should carry out this calling to account together, in our souls, each of us progressing to the point of his own responsibility. Then, reconciled in ourselves, let us seek in the preceding generation that which is great and worthy of our respect. This is also part of our self-respect and salvation.

The issue on which we shall decide here is not a political one; it is more than that—it is a historical one. Now is the time to decide whether we are to smash ourselves on our own barriers or whether we shall smash our barriers.

The answer cannot be in doubt. The conference debate reinforces our faith: We can once again be a vanguard, there will be a Hungarian resurgence. [end recording]

Nemeth Address to Conference

LD2105194988 Budapest MTI in English
1635 GMT 21 May 88

[Report on speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Miklos Nemeth to the MSZMP conference in Budapest on 21 May]

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, emphasized that although the programme of advancement approved by the Central Committee in July 1987 and the related government work programme of stabilization was supported by the party members and society, impatience has also increased over the past year. The party and state leadership is convinced that sweeping changes are required in the economy as well. The creation of the required conditions is under way. Our conclusion is clear: We can neither hope nor promise with responsibility an immediate turn that improves the situation in all fields simultaneously.

It has for long been a common concern that large sums are allocated to continuing loss-making activities and keeping unprofitable enterprises aloft. It is obvious that we should not continue this practice.

Miklos Nemeth said: We should promote, with all available means, an increase in international competitiveness, which makes it necessary to place the cooperation of the CMEA countries on new foundations and establish institutional relations with other economic integrations, first of all the European Economic Community.

It will become even more important for Hungary's economic development to involve foreign working capital. We advocate solutions that enable us to convert a part of our foreign debts into assets of foreign interest. The partnership law which is under framing will create an opportunity for this step.

The partnership law will provide more favourable conditions for the operation of the various forms of socialist property, private property and foreign property. We need internationally competitive large enterprises of solid capital and medium-size and small ventures alike.

The integration of public limited companies and the stock exchange into the system of socialist ownership, and the degree of tolerable inflation and the debts of the state are issues that await settlement. All this concerns various social problems and different individual and communal interests in the short and the long run. They can only be settled through a public assessment of economic and social benefits and drawbacks, Miklos Nemeth said.

Szabo, Others Speak 21 May

LD2105212888 Budapest MTI in English
1922 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—Istvan Szabo, member of the HSWP Political Committee, chairman of the cooperative farm of Nadudvar and president of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, emphasized that incomplete and dilatory reform measures or the eventual stopping or reversal of the reform would dramatically reduce the capabilities of the Hungarian society and the vitality of the economy.

Istvan Szabo then evaluated Hungary's agricultural production and agrarian policy which, he said, had greatly contributed to the increase in the living standard, to internal stability and the sound international reputation of the country. It helped to no small extent to bear and overcome the difficulties of the recent years. The more flexible forms of cooperatives and the expedient integration of large and small-scale units wre good innovations. Greater than average financial motivation, freedom of decision-making, and greater opportunities for taking risks and launching ventures also had favourable effects.

Of course, the operational disorders that characterize the Hungarian economy affect the agrarian system as well and endanger the success of advancement. The demand for restructuring has some specific features in agriculture as the structure of this sector cannot be separated from the economic geographical conditions. We should not forget that almost all farm products sell fairly well, even if at low prices. We should grant greater scope for the enforcement of the law of value, the play of market forces and competition based on equal chances. We should discontinue the arbitrary ranking of the various forms of property and sectors.

The state cannot renounce the possibility of economic management and influencing the economic organizations to act in compliance with its aims. But the bureaucracy of the regulatory system would be eliminated so that a responsible and effective entrepreneurial economy can unfold.

Peter Medgyessey, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, analyzed the economic processes of the past period and noted that the Hungarian economy has been characterized by stagnation and the deterioration of competitiveness for one decade. The former propelling forces necessary for rapid development have become exhausted.

In the 1980s, and particularly since the mid-decade, promising reform steps have been taken. Institutionalization of the small ventures, the development of the capital market, the banking reforms, the tax reform and the partnership law now under discussion intend to strengthen the self-organizational capability of the economy and the entrepreneurial spirit. These endeavour to reduce detailed state management and to dismantle the

obstacles that prevent the operation of the market. These are parts of a comprehensive strategy outlined in the party and government programme.

These changes did not, however, have a breakthrough strength for some time, as society was not convinced about the commitment to renewal of the party and the government, the deputy prime minister noted. We have to be able to transform the dissatisfaction which now is frequently expressed in a sense of helplessness, indifference, at times boundless criticism and emotions, into a stimulative force. The government requests the support of the party conference for this, that the party ensure an open, political atmosphere that encourages change. The development of the system of political institutions and the renewal of the party, the activization of the interest representation organs, and improving the conditions of social initiating and self-organization are necessary to this end.

Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and director of the Social Sciences Institute, said, among other things:

"I have been a member of the Central Committee for 32 years, therefore I myself am responsible for the errors and faults which the party membership and the party conference is now justly criticising", he said. Gyorgy Aczel noted he felt personal responsibility in that he has, and continues to declare that power is a service, but he did not fight consistently enough for party democracy, and he belatedly recognized that a unity that does not recognize difference in views is not a good unity, and we did not duly profit from one of our greatest possessions, intellectual capital, from the work of not only the intellectuals but the ideas of all party members and all citizens that were made in our interest.

At the same time, the past 32 years were the largest-scale venture in the history of our country, he continued. The results of these decades, including the work and successes of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, cannot be negated because of our faults. And we can thank this successful period in a great extent to a historical personality as Janos Kadar.

In the final part of his contribution, Gyorgy Aczel said that young people still do not participate in public life in the appropriate proportion. We, who are past our prime, he said, should have greater responsibility in drawing them into public life. We should have greater responsibility in handing over a party and a nation to the future generation which do not restrict their creative strength, independent way of thinking and attitude in any way, for what many of us dreamed of, and for which so many people lost their lives for, but for what we have and continue to live for, socialism, will be realized by them.

Szuros Speech 21 May

LD2105163088 Budapest MTI in English 1513 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, made the following contribution to the Saturday debate of the national party conference:

In this intricate situation fraught with difficulties and tensions the attention of the party membership and the entire country is obviously focused on the problems and most timely issues of internal development. However, our public opinion is also aware that Hungary's development is inseparable from the world political and world economic trends. For this reason, the party conference and the policy statement should deal in brief with the most important external conditions for the implementation of the stabilization and advance programme and the primary foreign policy tasks.

It also holds for Hungary that the reserves of the historically evolved model of real socialism are nearing exhaustion and its mechanisms are facing a crisis at places. Adding to this were our own errors, such as delay and inconsistency, incompetence and hesitation in setting up capacities for adaptation. The present conditions are basically due to internal objective and subjective causes, and the world economic changes and influences only added to our inner shortcomings. Therefore, it should be clearly seen that the outside world afflicted us not so much directly, but rather as a penalty for the internal causes of the lag.

On assessing our place and situation in the system of international relations, one conclusion is that the world economic conditions of our internal building work are extremely strict, which seems to be a lasting tendency. It follows that the disadvantages due to external causes can only be gradually compensated by adequate degree of adaptation, no small internal efforts and sacrifice.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that in the worldwide competition of the two social systems capitalism has proved to be viable and capable of adaptation to the altered circumstances. The earlier scheme that 'in socialism everything is good, and in capitalism everything is bad', has become obsolete and the emotional element has almost reversed with many people. This pessimistic mood has to be overcome, for those who lose heart also lose their head and become unable to help themselves.

Socialism and the entire workers movement is undergoing a responsible period, arrived at a historical turning point, the threshold of a worldwide "reform era". [sentence as received] It needs to be renewed with the thorough reconsideration of the theoretical foundations, because this is the only way to become a forward-looking alternative for humankind.

The development in Hungary forms an integral part of the general process and, in a certain sense, was even its forerunner and can be its promoter today as well. The importance of the "unidirectionism" of Hungarian and universal socialist development is backed by the historic experience that our economic and political reform plans can hardly be carried out consistently without appropriate international socialist background. An isolated socialist country has little chance to pursue a consistent and comprehensive reform policy. The attitude of the outside socialist environment is not indifferent even to the Soviet Union and China, but it is particularly important for the smaller countries. Our major background and support is that the changes of historic significance under way in our closer and farther socialist environment do not impede but rather stimulate and promote our endeavours of two or three decades' standing.

The favourable changes in our international political circumstances in the past two or three decades are primarily attributable to the ongoing of socialism in the socialist world. There is no doubt, of course, that the reform process is still not an exclusive trend in the development of world socialist system, but a current in the stage of unfoldment [as received] which cannot be avoided even by those who at the moment feel aversion. This is the demand of the age. It is necessary to increase the attraction of socialism on both national and international scale, which requires the concord of word and deed, the abolition of conservatism, as well as creditworthy, talented and responsible leaders. In keeping with our socialist ideals and democratic aspirations, we have to improve the methods of collective leadership, ruling out the possibility for anybody to hold excessive power or authority.

A favourable external condition for the attainment of our aims has been furnished in recent years by the relaxation of the international atmosphere, the increased confidence in East-West relations, particularly the improvement in the Soviet-American relationship and the growing recognition of interdependence which has cast a new light on confrontation. The new Soviet foreign political approach, which is marked by sense of reality, flexibility and compromising spirit and strives for reasonably sufficient security instead of maximum security, is instrumental in this respect. The Soviet leadership has realized the correlations of global human problems and the demands of social progress and class struggle, the fact that guaranteeing peace and security is the most important task in our age. The increasing readiness for compromise of the responsible sober-minded circles of the advanced capitalist countries also contributed to the intensification of detente elements. The chances for an outbreak from futile confrontation have increased, as was indicated most eloquently by the conclusion of the Soviet-American missile treaty.

Hungary's foreign policy availed itself of the opportunities offered by the favourable changes and assumed an active international role. I deem it important to stress because of the occasional simplifying qualifications and misinterpretations that have been heard not only in the Western world but also here in Hungary. I can confirm: All interested parties, including Hungary, participate as equal partners in coordinating and representing the common international position under the sign of the renewal of the socialist countries' cooperation. Our principal effort, which was directed even during the temporary cooling of Soviet-American relations at maintaining dialogue between countries with different social systems, mainly here in Europe, increasing confidence indispensable for security and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation, has also proven correct. According to evidence from the course of events, our foreign policy has been in harmony with the interests of socialism, the general demands of human progress and the survival and humanization of our civilization, so it is patriotic, internationalist and universally human at the same time.

At present our foreign policy of stable principles and flexible practice has the major duty to improve our capacity for reaction and adaptation to international developments by the means at its disposal. One way to render our social system and economy effective is to join the whole of the world economic and political system at more and more points through the domestic reform and openness, in the socialist and capitalist relations alike.

All this calls for continued active international activity. We should not let ourselves drift with the tide of events, but have to take part in shaping and perpetuating the favourable external conditions, including the modernization of the content and organization of the bi- and multilateral cooperation of the socialist countries and bringing about the CMEA function promoting the development of the member countries.

Another major task is the improvement of equal and mutually advantageous relations with the advanced capitalist countries. To settle our link to the West European economic integration constitutes a recognition and task of historic significance. Here we should not lag behind, because from 1992 a new situation will arise with the formation of the unified Common Market. It is necessary to narrow the gap between the two parts of Europe, which is in the interests of both the entire world and the particular European countries. The main point is our increasing involvement in the international division of labour and integration into the world system of productive forces assuming international dimensions. The countries with different social systems should equally strive for coexistence and many-sided cooperation.

If we want to retain our reputation in the world and be treated as equal partners worthy of cooperation, our foreign policy has to safeguard and enrich with new features the picture of the socialist-reform-Hungary which is capable of action and strives to overcome its difficulties and which was created about us over the past two decades in the world. In my view, we can keep our prestige not only by rapid successes and spectacular

moves. The outside world today generally shows understanding towards our problems and considers them resolvable. At present our socialist and capitalist partners do not expect us to solve our problems overnight, but they rely on our ability to act in reaction to our economic and political malfunctions on time and purposefully even at the price of tension. This expectation is also manifest in the keen attention that followed the preparations and the work of our conference worldwide. It is [our] main foreign political task to authentically communicate our determination for internal renewal to the outside world.

As naturally only the real internal conditions can be communicated, successful foreign policy work has today two indispensable prerequisites: the maintenance of stability and the transformation of obsolete economic and political structures. Identification of individual and collective responsibility, changes in personnel are necessary for this, but do not offer a solution to our problems in themselves.

The views expressed during the debate on the draft policy statement of the party conference have given repeated proof that care for the fate of Hungarians living beyond the borders is a timely foreign policy task also justified from the home political angle. We did not, of course, ask for the trouble, several problems have been imposed on us by the circumstances. The schema that "the nationality issue has been completely settled" also belongs to the past. Practically all party members agree with the recent practice of the party and state leadership to openly take a stand for guaranteeing the collective and individual rights of all minorities and against obstacles to the preservation of national self-identity, unworthy discrimination and tough assimilation ambitions. The Hungarian public feels particular and just concern about the fate of Hungarians living in Romania. The compulsion of massive resettlement among them just adds to the worries. The majority of our population sympathizes with those who arrive here and are ready to help them. On the other hand, we are also aware that resettlement cannot resolve the problems of a two-million community. It is the natural right of all people to live in their homeland as law-abiding citizens. Our people and party membership hope this tension will finally be eased reassuringly according to the civilized international norms, under the principles of Lenin's nationality policy and the self-determination of peoples and nations. The HSWP and the Hungarian Government acts towards this end and is always ready to further a satisfactory solution.

The debate on the draft policy statement served with the valuable experience that the international activity of our party and the foreign policy of our state have the support of the people and our foreign policy work has proved to be a stable constituent of national consensus [sentence as received]. Our public opinion appreciates that our foreign policy reackons with reality, uses the opportunities for action and enjoys prestige in the world. Socialist Hungary contributes to bettering the world. I am convinced that our international activity serving the reform policy, can remain a stable element of renewed national unity and consensus.

When discussing crucial issues of concern to the nation, we are facing double responsibility. We are responsible above all for the fate of our people, but our renewal is not simply an internal affair, because the trends in our internal situation also effect universal socialist development. Our results may encourage progress, while possible failure would certainly cause serious damage to the ongoing reforms in the socialist countries and the credibility and attraction of our ideas. Although we have never wanted to be models, it should be noted that our experience is followed with attention also outside the country and our decisions have considerable international effect as well.

Under the sign of these ideas and also on behalf of the group of delegates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I propose the party conference approve the draft policy statement with due consideration to the attached comments, Matyas Szuros said.

Pozsgay, Fejti Interviewed

LD2105194388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 21 May 88

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti and Patriotic People's Front General Secretary Imre Pozsgay by Editor Akos Mester and correspondent Zoltan Farkas, on the "168 hours" program, presented by Ferenc Vicsek, in Budapest on 21 May—live or recorded]

[Text] [Vicsek] Those who have been attentively following reports on the party conference must surely have raised their heads to note that there are people who spoke on behalf of the traditional class society structure, either on behalf of the workers or of the intelligentsia. They expressed their views as if they wanted to shape new proportions at the party conference. At the same time others spoke about the reform of socialist society in general, about new operating conditions. Editor Akos Mester asked Gyorgy Fejti, Central Committee secretary, to come to the microphone on the "168 hours" program to convey his impressions after nearly 2 days. We are now going over to the temporary studio constructed at the party conference site.

[Mester] It is rather unusual that I greet the listener not at the start of the program but at its middle. But I do now and I also greet Gyorgy Fejti, Central Committee secretary. I, by the way, would not categorize the speakers in the same way as my colleague, Ferenc Vicsek, the presenter of the program, because in my view the speakers—in a characteristic fashion—dealt with two issues. One is how we got into this situation and the other is how we will get out of it. I will expand this with another question: What is the time frame ahead?

[Fejti] Essentially, we must simultaneously deal with two time frames. The mandate of the party conference extends to determining the tasks up to the next party congress. Therefore these must necessarily be concrete and pragmatic. At the same time, alongside this short-term time span, we have to look to the horizon up to the turn of the millenium. In other words this series of short-term measures must be fitted in to a longer term plan. It is for this reason that the Central Committee proposed to the party conference that as soon as we end our work here we should immediately start on a critical analysis of the 1975 party program [as heard] and on the elaboration of the program lasting to the turn of the century. The question as to whether it is realistic and not utopian to deal with these longer term programs may be raised. My view is that it is necessary to think in terms of perspectives, instead of manufacturing utopia; this work must be carried out.

[Mester] Well, yes, however, now we are only at the stage of current problems. The present party conference was preceded by extraordinarily heightened—and (?in some views) perhaps unjustifiably heightened—expectation. Others speak about a political turning point. Is this realistic, in your view, or is it an exaggerated assessment of events?

[Fejti] I consider the expectation itself, even if it is exaggerated, as a good sign, and decidedly so. It is a sign of trust and hope, and in the future we will especially need both trust and hope. Regarding the second part of the question, I would not speak about a political turning point; but it is unquestionable that a turning point is necessary on a whole series of issues. There is a need for a change, before everything, in the economy, by which I mean that we must achieve results, and within the foreseeable future; and the profit on a unit invested should be greater. Without this no economy can operate. A turning point is also needed in improving the relation of the individual to collective interests. Without this we will not be able to eliminate the waste, the lack of interest. Finally we also need a change to transform the system of political institutions. Here work must be significantly accelerated. First of all we must create clearer relations in terms of decisionmaking and responsibility. Significant changes in the relationship between the state and the citizen are needed first, because the citizens' initiative should act as a motivating force.

[Mester] Really, what you are saying here is practically a program in itself. However, making a program is possible only, worthwhile only, if before preparing the program we clarify all that must be verified.

There are some who think that the biggest mistake of recent years was that we were unable to consistently carry out the reforms to the end and, particularly, because we avoided conflicts. Has the party conference debate been characterized by a clash of opinions?

[Fejti] It is my view, too, that the uncovering, the acceptance of conflicts and primarily, via compromise, the elimination of conflicts, is necessary. There is no progress without it. Therefore, this must be accepted and it must be seen clearly that conflicts appear as a result of different interests in society. Different interests also exist within the party because, after all, the party reflects society. The different interests that exist in society are reflected in the party. This is the basis of the party debate. We must leave behind that concept of party unity which, in essence, endeavored to arrive at a unity on every question, at any moment. I conceive a dynamic party unity whose essence I see as the need to unite through passionate debate on those issues that may be decided at a given moment. This is, however, only a smaller proportion of the issues. So, out of necessity, a significant number of issues to be debated remain and are reproduced within the party. It is in our interest that these debates take place regularly and passionately. This is the basis of common action.

[Mester] Well, I do not know. If a person fears, these days too, for party unity because of these debates I think he ought to reread Marx, don't you?

[Fejti] I agree with that. Unity, lasting unity, and mainly unity of action, can only be forged in debate.

[Mester] Yes, but it is also very important for the views to be made public. It is not in a hidden manner, during whispered conversations in the halls, that one should be able to hear: I do not agree. To me, the open conflict of opinions here, from a certain viewpoint, was very sympathetic. For example, someone, a worker from the Raba factory, said that the debate now should concentrate not on what kind of socialism we should build, but on how we should build socialism. But it is not certain that we have yet reached this point. I recall, according to the party secretary of the technical university, that ideological work is one of the biggest failures of party life at present. There are things to be clarified, first on ideology. Do you share this opinion?

[Fejti] My opinion is that there should be debate on both things, so it should be on what kind of socialism we want, since this can never be concluded for once and for all. We must leave behind the picture of socialism that I would call virtually static, the one that puts a previously dreamed-up model into practice.

We need socialism to become a test of practice, since socialism in essence is a big historical experiment, a learning process. Having probed reality, it must draw out general historical laws, which it then accepts as socialism, socialist values.

In the meantime, two things still threaten us. One is that we ideologize, and I consider ideologizing to be a real danger, a real failure. Another danger threatens us: that we are overly pragmatic, we pursue views, interests that are too short-sighted.

There is one thing in which I am resolute and sure: that only socialism can be effective.

[Mester] Yes. It has come to mind in the meantime that the picture of socialism is generally shaped in the upper realms; we should not forget this. And in connection with this, I ask your opinion on the remark that the party's highest leadership came forth with self-criticism only with reluctance and delay.

[Fejti] For the most part, I share this view. Self-criticism, self-judgment is not one of our strengths. I might add that this does not pertain only to the party's high leadership. There is quite a strong inclination in us to seek the roots of our problems in outside causes. If we want real change, we, ourselves, must change, and for this reason, criticism must begin with ourselves.

[Mester] I believe that the basis of real change is that we, finally, should try to truly extend the reform to every sphere of social life. This is said, emphasized, by many people. I have heard it here, too, in contributions. In the meantime, my impression is that not everyone knows what the issue at hand is. It is not even certain that those who say it understand it.

[Fejti] I will say how I understand this. So far, we have dealt with partial reforms. Society is a very complex system and if we want to change any of its elements, and these partial changes do not interlink with the other elements, then a rejecting reflex begins. The situation is similar to organ transplants. For this reason, it is a Hungarian experience, but not only a Hungarian experience, that with partial reforms it is impossible to achieve lasting results, lasting change. Rather, comprehensive measures, coordinated measures, and if possible, measures that will reinforce each other, are necessary.

Now, we basically want to reform the economy; it appears that if we continue this, the emphasis has to shift over to the political and institutional spheres, indeed, I would go further—to the intellectual and moral spheres, as well.

[Mester] One supposes that a series of new measures will come about here now, but—perhaps I am mistaken, I hope I am mistaken—my feeling is that here at the party conference, there are people who, in their contributions, cast suspicion over the forthcoming measures, saying that in their view our endeavor for economic and social renewal again can only be guided from above. I ask you: Is it at all possible to guide a reform in any other manner than from above?

[Fejti] It can be guided from above. At the same time, things cannot be forced on society against its will. Therefore, a readiness to accept the reform is also necessary. For this reason, reforms that are catalyzed exclusively from above are generally unsuccessful. The current Soviet practice also shows this. It is not by circumstance that while the leadership professes a resolute reform concept, it has turned to the masses, and it wants to force necessary changes [ki akar kenyszeriteni szuekseges valtozasok] with pressure from below.

For a long time we were expressly distrustful vis-a-vis this so-called pressure from below. It must be understood that every social system has its own incompetencies, and for this reason, without movements from below the honorable intentions of the leaders are doomed to failure.

[Mester] That is in order, only I wonder whether we will have the strength now to resist the demagoguery from below [alulrol joevoe demagogia] when we change the previous concept.

[Fejti] It is absolutely necessary to resist this, and in fact it also is demagoguery, or at least a symptom of demagoguery—that there is a feeling that, by necessity, what is born in the centers can only be retrograde. However, in the final instance the concept and the essence of the change begins to take shape, after all, in the centers, although, of course, via the competition of various views. I believe that there is a true opportunity for change, which is catalyzed both from above and below.

[Mester] On the other hand, this assumes that we are able to guarantee that various progressive processes will function undisturbed and freely within society. Several people have stressed here at the party conference that the party has at last to get over the burden of the personnel changes. However, I fear that those who believe—and I think there are quite a few of such people—that the personnel changes alone will solve our problems are mistaken.

[Fejti] It is my view that the personnel changes by themselves will not solve our problems. Thus, I regard them as a necessary but insufficient condition. It is at least as important that we have a creditable program. However, for the representation and realization of a creditable program we need the greatest possible number of creditable people. This is where the program and the personnel changes are related.

[Mester] Permit me to add that a creditable press is also necessary, as well as creditable television and radio. Naturally, frankness and openness have been mentioned. It has also been asked why the party membership learns about important political information by way of a London press conference, or why it learns about important matters in the wake of questions by an aggressive American reporter. The speaker said that Hungarian reporters could presumably also ask questions.

[Fejti] Yes, they can ask questions. Well, of course, it is very important that the outside world be given creditable information about Hungarian political endeavors. The only thing that is even more important is that the Hungarian public also be well informed. I think that the

long held principle—which, of course, is often not followed in practice—that it is not in the interest of the political sphere to be secretive, must be realized. Thus, there is a need for much more open information, and this assumes a very correct, party-like relationship of partnership between those asking and those answering the questions.

[Mester] Another question is necessary. On what does the party conference want to adopt a position and is there some sort of task plan being prepared on its basis?

[Fejti] As has been said, the party conference wants to adopt a position regarding coordinated reforms, the continuation of the reform process, including the changes that are necessary in the system of political institutions, those needed in the economy, and changes that go beyond the economic sphere, that is, those in intellectual life.

Now, the standpoint itself—and it has been criticized for this—cannot be as concrete as the answers required by society today. Thus, there is a need to prepare a task plan—based on the debates preceding the party conference and the present debates here—which is program-like, which contains the system of conditions and, in given cases, those responsible, and deadlines. The newly elected Central Committee will have to prepare such a task plan soon after the party conference.

[Mester] And will it be published?

[Fejti] It is unavoidable; it has to be published.

[Mester] Forgive me for bringing up publicity once again. Someone has mentioned that it would be a good thing if the contributions at the conference were available in print. Is there some chance of this happening?

[Fejti] The bureau of the national party conference will have to evaluate this question. My own view is that it is necessary to find a way to publish it, either in full or, if this cannot be realized quickly for technical reasons, then in an edited version. All the contributions, that is, including those that were not delivered but were submitted in writing, should be available.

[Mester] On my part, I regard this as extremely important, not only because there is a heightened sense of expectation in the country at present but also because the outside world is watching us very intently. Thank you for the information.

[Vicsek] Several leading officials met journalists at the party conference. Yesterday it was Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister, and today they were Istvan Petrovszky, Rezsoe Nyers, Ivan T. Berend, and Imre Pozsgay. Zoltan Farkas has summarized the briefing by the general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front.

[Farkas] A staff member of the Italian paper LA REPUBLICA asked whether the opposition's constitional demands have had an effect on the party's policy and whether the party will take back the four intellectuals who were expelled a few weeks ago by the Central Control Committee.

[Pozsgay] I hope that in Hungary there will ensue a political world in which every opinion will be considered before a decision is reached. In addition, if these opinions are critical, they are also good in so far as they jolt us out of our complacency and out of the idea that perhaps we are infallible. I think that the preparation of the constitutional reforms has to be done through a dialogue with the entire public.

About the four expelled party members, what I know is that without exception they all appealed against the Central Control Committee decision. But according to the organizational rules, in this matter the party conference cannot make a decision, only the congress. For this reason I believe that a real chance for their return will be possible at the 14th Congress, due to take place in 1990.

[Farkas] A reporter from THE FINANCIAL TIMES asked Imre Pozsgay his opinion of new autonomous initiatives such as the one by the Democratic Federation of Youth.

[Pozsgay] I think that in connection with these affairs we are now experiencing the punishment of our delays. Since the legal regulation of such initiatives has been delayed, it is rather the deterrence reflex that is functioning, not the politicizing reflex. One fact cannot be doubted: There will be such initiatives and we will have to prepare to integrate them. I believe that this year Hungarian legislation will perhaps create the new association law, then we will enter into political relations of an entirely different quality.

[Farkas] Viktor Meier, representing FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, asked Imre Pozsgay whether in his opinion the party has broken loose from its former defensive stance.

[Pozsgay] I am of the view that this breaking loose [kotoeres] has already occurred. In my speech I said that the party membership and citizens have already made the turning point and the party conference is functioning under its effect.

[Farkas] Do you consider it conceivable that by Sunday night you will be working in a higher function within the party leadership? This question was asked by a Western journalist.

[Pozsgay] I have heard all kinds of rumors, the most uncertain ones regarding me. I would like it if the will of the electors is asserted; perhaps then I will not come off badly.

[Farkas] Another Western journalist asked, referring to Karoly Grosz's speech this morning, in which he said that the multiparty system has advantages, why there can be no other party in Hungary except the MSZMP.

[Pozsgay] Here, too, I can say what I said in the Central Committee: I have no principled arguments on the side of the one party system. But I do have practical arguments, and this practical argument is connected to political stability. The party debates last spring showed that the party membership is capable of preparing for the fulfillment of a kind of pluralism. The organizational consequences of this need to be determined. A part of this has perhaps been done already; the larger part will probably be left until the 14th congress. This is the creation of a freedom platform within the party, the organizational conditions for this, and the protection of the minority will have to be guaranteed.

[Farkas] Toward the end of the meeting a journalist asked Imre Pozsgay what content he ascribes to the concept of democracy.

[Pozsgay] I am an adherent of democracy without epithets. What is more, I would say this: I prefer a sentence construction in which democracy is the epithet. In other words, in my speech I said democratic socialism, which to me also means that I consider democracy, in a certain sense, as a product, a result, of human culture and civilization. And in Europe I cannot conceive of a society formed in a humane fashion and founded on solidarity without democracy.

Berecz Holds News Conferences on Proceedings

20 May Briefing

LD2005221188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 May 88

[Excerpts] The party conference will continue its work at 0900 tomorrow morning. This was also stated at Janos Berecz's evening news conference, which is summarized by Attila Balint.

[Balint] The events of the party conference are being followed carefully by 221 journalists from 30 countries. Most were the colleagues from England, the Soviet Union, the United States, and the FRG, who arrived for the news conference which began shortly after 2100 at the International Press Center, at the headquarters of the Journalists' Association. Janos Berecz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, summarized the day's events. [passage omitted]

Young people were severe in their formulations, and the party functionaries spoke not only about the responsibility of the Central Committee, but also mentioned their own responsibility, said Janos Berecz in his introduction.

The work of the drafting committee, the leader of which, by the way, is Janos Berecz, has become more difficult, for they received 212 contributions in writing, and they have to process all of them, then give an account of the fate of the proposals to the party conference.

We learned from the answers given to questions put by colleagues that a decision was made on today's contributions in the following way: Yesterday, every group of delegates made a list of their own contributors, in order, and today's agenda developed in accordance with this. Tomorrow, probably 30 people will be permitted to speak.

Many people inquired about the personnel changes that may be expected. Janos Berecz, not wanting to influence the work of the nominating committee, said that at 1900 on Sunday we will find out on radio and television broadcasts what personnel decisions have been made, partly at the party conference and partly at the session of the newly elected Central Committee and Central Control Committee.

The voting, by the way, about who should be put onto the nominating list, who are proposed as members of the Central Committee, will be open, but the delegates will vote on the list in secret. It will also be a secret vote that will decide on the executive organs of the Central Committee at the Central Committee session.

21 May Briefing

LD2105214888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 May 88

[Excerpts] This evening, not long after the session ended, Janos Berecz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary held an international news conference. Attila Balint reports [passage omitted]:

[Balint] Janos Berecz answered questions. A Spanish colleague from Barcelona asked about the handling of minority views, the practice of pluralism within the party.

[Begin Berecz recording] We wish to ensure institutionally that the minority view can survive. What is more, on the basis of new experiences, also that it can change into the majority view. But we have irrevocably forbidden setting of factions. Also raised was the need for a freedom of platform. For us to advance in answering these questions, we propose that the Central Committee send out a working committee, which I think could come about in June. This working committee, with the transformation of the organizational regulations, should ensure—and this is already embodied in the rules—the relation between the majority and the minority. It should ensure the pluralism of views and protect the opinion left in the minority. It should ensure that somehow a platform can be developed, from the various ideas, which must be put to debate. [end recording]

[Balint] Can you imagine combining the functions of the party and government leadership? asked the REUTER correspondent. And if so, for how long? Six days, 6 months or longer?

[Begin Berecz recording] Should this sort of situation arise in practice, it is conceivable that it might last until the 14th congress, but it is also conceivable that it might last 6 months. I would bet on the latter. [end recording]

[Balint] Will the function of party chairman be created? Berecz was asked.

[Begin Berecz recording] Yes, I have heard that something like this was talked about and I am convinced that if this recommendation is put forward the party conference will support it. [end recording]

[Balint] It was asked if the opposition will be given constitutional possibilities.

[Begin Berecz recording] Several recommendations were proposed that the standpoint should also deal with the opposition. We are recommending that this not be, because this is a concrete, practical, political, legislative issue. In the standpoint it says that we regard legislation necessary within a short time on practicing the right of association, on the creation of associations, and the freedom of assembly—thus, in general, on issues concerning the concrete social practice of human rights as set out in the Constitution.

The law will be brought in by the National Assembly and we will tolerate and acknowledge every activity that concerns these issues. [end recording]

[Balint] Did the Politburo hold a session today? When will Janos Kadar's summary of the debate be approved?

[Begin Berecz recording] The Politburo did hold a session today. It listened to the ideas put forward by Comrade Kadar on what he wishes to say tomorrow at the closing session. We agreed on all the fundamental questions but he is free to express it as he wishes. [end recording]

22 May Briefing

LD2205205788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] [Announcer] And now follows a brief summary of the international press conference given by Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee a short while ago.

One of the questions concerned whether the party chairman will participate in the Politburo sessions and will he have a vote.

[Begin Berecz recording] The party chairman has not become a member of the Politburo. But he can participate in the sessions of the Politburo as any member of the Central Committee can if he wishes to participate in the discussion of some point on the agenda and in the making of decisions. We have not yet fully clarified and set out the functions of the chairman of the party, or what authority and tasks it involves. What I can say is that Comrade Janos Kadar wishes to participate in the work of the Central Committee only to the extent to which we judge that there is a need for him. Our evaluation is that there is a need for his experience, there is a need for his opinions, there is a need, in the interest of ensuring continuity, for his participation in the work. [end recording]

[Announcer] There was also a question as to how the function of general secretary of the party can be combined with that of premier.

[Begin Berecz recording] Nothing more untoward has happened than that the chairman of the present government has been elected by the Central Committee as general secretary of the party. This is a new situation. In the new situation it is necessary to discuss anew the situation, to evaluate it, and to decide. At the present time my own personal evaluation is that for the time being— whether for a longer or shorter time, I said last night that in principle this could be until the 14th congress, could be until the end of this year—the functions of party general secretary and of premier can merge together.

I would like to tell you something: Karoly Grosz is an honest and open person. In September last year he accepted an important task in front of the National Assembly, and thus in front of the entire country. He believes that he still needs a few months to create at least the conditions for the realization of the tasks, to make a contribution toward our having a government capable of functioning. Something like that has already been taking shape over the past year; but he still needs a few more months in order to hand over the function of head of government to someone else, with a clear conscience that he has at least fulfilled a part of the obligations he has undertaken and in the future will be able to help the new premier, so that the entire obligation undertaken will be realized. [end recording]

[Announcer] A Dutch journalist asked the question: Did Janos Kadar himself ask to be relieved from the position of general secretary?

[Begin Berecz recording] At the first session of the reelected Central Committee, Comrade Janos Kadar began by requesting that in view of his age and the objective of renewal, the Central Committee should refrain from nominating and electing him as general secretary.

Comrade Karoly Grosz proposed that we should elect him as party chairman. This received unanimous support in the secret voting. The conference founded the

function of chairman so that we could honor the leader whose name is connected with every result of ours, with every significant measure of ours, and with our troubles and problems as well.

For this reason, his standing down is a sharing in the results and an acceptance of responsibility in the helping of resurgence [kibontakozas]. [end recording]

Further on 22 May Briefing

LD2305221988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1805 GMT 23 May 88

[Special program entitled "After the Party Conference"; "summary" of the 1-hour question and answer session with Janos Berecz, party conference spokesman, on 22 May; questions read by unidentified correspondent—recorded; no video available]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] The reporter of Swedish radio asks: How many people voted for Karoly Grosz at the closed session of the Cental Committee? And how many voted against him?

[Berecz] You are indeed right; there was a closed session and a secret vote. It is not right to speak about these citing data; but I can say without hindrance that it was not a small, nor a large majority, but the whole of the Central Committee that elected Karoly Grosz general secretary.

[Correspondent] The question of a British journalist: Did the Hungarian party leadership consult with the Soviet leadership in the course of preparations for the conference? And did Mr Gorbachev make it known in the course of those preparations that he would like to see Mr Grosz become the new general secretary?

[Berecz] On 28 April there was a public television forum. When we were sitting there live before the cameras, five of us, and were answering questions that had come in, we were very sorry that during the 70 minutes we could answer only a few of the 1,300 or so questions that had come in. And there was one question that asked why Gromyko had been here and why Ryzhkov had been here before the party conference.

We answered that one cannot shut the gates of the country because we are preparing for an important event, the national party conference. People do not want to believe it, though we say it many times; we make our decisions in a sovereign manner. There are things on which we do consult because they affect the interests of our allies. There are things on which we give briefings in advance, and there are things we announce afterward. And in this case it is that which is in question. This is our affair—who is the party chairman, who is the party general secretary, who are the members of the Politburo. And we offer it, we trust that our friends will receive this with understanding and support.

[Correspondent] Attila Balint from Hungarian radio asks: The Central Committee has become younger; the Politburo has become significantly younger. Does this have any kind of value as a sign, in your opinion, for the lower level or territorial leading bodies of the party? I ask this both in the sense of age, and also in the sense of way of thinking.

[Berecz] The question is good, because, if a process starts, it cannot stop on the day of the party conference or on the day of the Central Committee resolution.

It is hard to answer the question because we do not have a plan to start a process of complete transformation at the various levels of leadership. I think that this indication, which was decided by the conference, will be carried out in every organ of the party by the time of the 14th congress.

[Correspondent] A correspondent from Spanish television asks: After the conference, one thing still remains: The product has to be sold, namely the politics. But, what will the priority of Hungarian politics be? West or East? For Marxist terminology is not understood in the West, and the other not in the East.

[Berecz] Well, I could ask whether you understand me, because if you do, then I would say the following: I am a convinced Marxist, but I hope to find a terminology that will be understood in both East and West. But, this is not the essence. Selling the product—thank you for the expression, for the party conference also dealt with this—we wish to do at home first, at home, in our party and in Hungarian public opinion. Because, the first demand and condition for the realization, for us, is that this program should find support in both the party and the great majority of the population.

Thus, we accepted the proposal that later we should turn to the entire population, in the interests of winning support. We accepted the proposal that the Central Committee, within about a month, should accept a work plan in the interests of implementing the draft standpoint, and that it make the work plan public. And, that in several areas, it should indicate concretely the individual tasks, and it should have consultations with those strata that it affects; it should create a consensus.

If this succeeds, then we expect our friends and our partners to understand us.

[Correspondent] A question from Hungarian television, newsreel. Earlier here, you spoke about consensus, and the creation of a new kind of consensus. When this consensus was created for the first time in Hungary and was very strong, we were living in a period of economic upsurge, and obviously, the economic upsurge, the rising standard of living, had a direct role in the fact that this consensus was able to be created.

When this wobbled a little, then we were living in a period of recession and there was a decreasing, or more uncertain, standard of living.

To what extent do you see a guarantee, and in what do you feel a guarantee, that in the forseeable future, this consensus will be able to be restored once again, stabilized, at a time when the economy has not yet managed to become stabilized?

[Berecz] If we were in a stable economic situation, which decisively demonstrated the elements of resurgence, even then, a new type of consensus, different from the earlier one, would be needed.

The earlier consensus came about partly in a spontaneous way—you are right, as a result of successful economic work—in a consensus based on the rise in the standard of living. And aside from this, plain speaking between the outsanding personalities of the various strata of society characterized this consensus.

In the present time, and in the future, we need a consensus—in difficult as well as in good times—created not by individual personalities, or silent agreement, but one characterized by the cooperation of institutions based on the recognition of interests, a pluralism of interests, the difference of interests.

From this point of view, at all times we have to keep four poles in mind—along with a fifth which we must deal with separately. These four poles in the new style leading role of the party are: the activity of the government; the National Assembly; the legislature; and finally the judicial power, or judicial practice of power. The fifth to which I referred is the self-organization of society, the organizational presence and interest harmonization of various communities.

A long time is needed for this kind of consensus to develop, but we have enough patience for this, and we need it too. So, our political activity is directed toward this.

[Correspondent] The reporter of Soviet radio asks: Comrade Berecz, if I understood the debate correctly, it was said at the party conference that a company law will be created in your country. Many people, however, were of the view that you will also have to provide an ideological foundation for such a decision, affecting conditions of ownership. Why are you bringing such a law into existence? What will be its fate? And in your view, will the rich be even richer in the future?

[Berecz, chuckles] It is true that the concept of the company law and the ideological problems that crop up in connection with it, did present a problem at the party conference. We were warned, partly in the speeches and partly in standpoints submitted in writing, that it is not so simple to change the opinion of the party membership on a stance whose roots go back a long time and that has been hammered in. This is because we used to say that social ownership was the only expedient one, and even with that state ownership is the one that functions best. Now, on the other hand, we say that alongside the dominance of social ownership, and along with guaranteeing its best possible functioning, we have to involve private ownership, which has made its appearance in property relations and foreign operating capital. Miklos Nemeth, in his speech, added that this means both the socialist and the capitalist operating capital. I only wish that they would both come.

In our ideological work we must deal seriously with easing the cramps that face us, with easing the lack of understanding, and strengthening social control. In answer to the question of whether the rich citizen will get richer, I can reply that there will be those who get richer and there will be those who will not. I hope that the freedom of enterprise that we want to assure will also take cognizance of the success of enterprise and, if need be, its failure, too.

[Correspondent] The next question is also connected with consensus. In March Karoly Grosz met church leaders and several proposals and requests were made on the side of the church. Is a new agreement between state and church conceivable, similar to that of the fifties? For example, can there be any possibility of refusing armed service?

[Berecz] The standpoint that has just been adopted at the party conference contains the support of a series of legislative tasks, among others the creation of the legal conditions for the practice of freedom of conscience and religious freedom. I do not yet know the outlines of this law, or this eventual law. At the present moment the legal experts are working on the drafting of such a law. But I am certain that at the present level of development of our society we are able to guarantee full religious freedom. The cooperation of state and church is much richer in our country than the agreements made in the fifties. For this reason, this law is probable; it will lay down this higher level of cooperation and agreement in the interest of the nation.

Finally, we have been professing for a long time that in the relations of the state and church—but in the relations of all churches and the state—we have to constantly build with small steps. And now also a series of issues is on the agenda which the leaders of the State Office for Church Affairs and the leaders of the various churches are discussing; and step by step we agree that we are advancing.

With regard to the refusal of military service on the grounds of freedom of conscience, this is a serious issue; it is not so much a political problem, rather one of human rights. I am convinced that we will find the possibility for those of our citizens who cannot undertake military service, truly for reasons of conscience, to be able to perform their duty vis-a-vis the homeland in

another field, and that it should not be necessary to condemn this attitude of theirs, or this endeavor of theirs, by judicial means. I do not think it will take a very long time before we will settle this, for it is not in our interest that anyone should be condemned to imprisonment for such reasons. Our endeavor is that they should be useful citizens of the state, while taking their convictions into consideration.

[Correspondent] In our country, the Soviet Union, the Communists are also preparing for a party conference. And one of the central issues of the preparations is openness, glasnost as we call it. This issue—the importance of glasnost—was spoken of very frequently here in Budapest at the national party conference in the past days. Many people here considered the fact that a high-ranking political leader, after every working day, holds an international press conference here for foreign journalists, and answers very concrete and—how should I put it—interesting questions put to them means that certain steps have been taken in party life in Hungary in general on the path of glasnost. I would like to ask Comrade Berecz in this connection what in his opinion will the further steps be like here in Hungary on the path of openness, of glasnost, after the party conference.

[Berecz] We have held a good number of discussions on the question of how the Hungarian journalists, that is, the servants and adherents of glasnost, conceive of the realization of openness [nyiltsag]. And finally we submitted a document for debate at a 2-day conference in Debrecen, in one of the beautiful Hungarian cities—I nearly said one of the most beautiful—but anyway one of the beautiful Hungarian cities. After the debate we reworked the concept and we invited all those who had contributed to it in their speeches to a discussion 2 weeks ago. They took a concrete stand on the theme of the document that shapes and guarantees Hungarian openness, Hungarian glasnost. In the near future we wish to submit this document to one of the leading organs of the party. Not in order that it may curb, but in order that it may fully open up the assertion of openness.

There was a debate about whether we need a fuller, or some other kind, of openness. Our standpoint is that openness cannot be dealt out in doses. It either exists or it doesn't. If it does, then—with the exception of state secrets, or the very strict business secrets—openness has to be extended to every field, also within the party, about the party too, and about the activity of every institution of society. From this point of view we have no inhibitions; only we do not yet have enough experience.

[Correspondent] The correspondent of DAGENS NYHETER asks: Will the tone used with the intelligentsia change now, since it has been proclaimed that there is a need for the intelligentsia?

[Berecz] In the course of the progress of our society, in the one-party system, the MSZMP must endeavor to represent the great majority of the people, essentially the whole of the people, and it is up to others whether they accept the MSZMP. From this point of view the intelligentsia is in a concrete sense significantly in its right place. But if I go on and add that the further development of social production, culture, and health care to a significant extent, first and foremost, depends on the thinking, conduct, skills, knowledge, and active participation of the intelligentsia, then the statement in the standpoint according to which the intelligentsia fulfills a determining role in the life of society is justified. Thus, we want not only an alliance between the party and the intelligentsia, but we are also calling for the intelligentsia's active work and support.

[Correspondent] The correspondent of LA REPUBBLICA, Italy asks: Forgive me for getting personal, but do you not feel that you are a loser, now that there have been such changes at the top?

[Berecz] Thank you very much for this question. I was afraid that perhaps no one would ask this sort of question, in which case I would have had to ask it and answer it myself.

A British lady journalist visited me several times. After our first meeting she wrote that I was progressive, cultured, and so on. When we met for the second time, she asked me: What do you think of the fact that now you are seen as the conservative personality in the leadership? I told her: You know, I am consoled by the fact that they have written of Grosz that he is even more conservative.

We met again a year later, and then she asked me: What is your consolation now? I told her: The fact that by now they write that Grosz is more progressive than I am.

I would like to tell you frankly, sincerely, the following: The fact that taking a man's work and activities into consideration, he is tipped to get something, is not a bad thing in itself. And I am grateful for this, that I was in some way the subject of attention. And now I say unequivocally: We have chosen well and I fully support the general secretary, Comrade Karoly Grosz.

Gorbachev Sends Congratulations Message to Grosz

PM2305112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP

Dear Comrade Grosz!

Please accept my sincere congratulations in connection with your election as general secretary of the MSZMP.

You are well known in the Soviet Union as a principled communist and authoritative leader of Socialist Hungary, and your vigorous activity to deepen fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and Hungary is highly valued.

I sincerely wish you, Comrade Grosz, great success in your responsible new post in solving tasks of improving and renewing socialist society on Hungarian soil. I am sure our fraternal parties will continue to actively exchange experience and collaborate in joint matters.

M. Gorbachev

Gorbachev Message to Kadar

PM2305104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Janos Kadar, chairman of the MSZMP

Dear Comrade Kadar!

In connection with your election to the post of chairman of the MSZMP, I convey to you sincere congratulations and friendly greetings.

I wish you, prominent figure of the international communist and workers movement, convinced internationalist and Leninist, and loyal friend of our country, great successes in your work for the benefit of people's Hungary and the cause of peace and socialism. I am convinced that the fraternal alliance between the CPSU and the MSZMP will continue to be a reliable guarantee of inviolable friendship between our countries and peoples.

I wish you health, happiness, and prosperity.

M. Gorbachev

MTI Carries Biographies on Leadership Members

Kadar Biographical Notes

LD2205213988 Budapest MTI in English 2112 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Janos Kadar"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Janos Kadar was born on May 26, 1912 in Fiume (today Rijeka, Yugoslavia). His original occupation: technician. He joined the Young Workers Movement when he was 17. At first he was active in the Young Ironworkers Movement. In 1931 Janos Kadar joined the Hungarian Association of Young Communist Workers (KIMSZ) and the Communist Party of Hungary. From May 1942, he was member, and from the beginning of 1943, secretary of the Central Committee of the party. He was one of the organizers of the anti-fascist resistance movement.

After the liberation of Hungary he was elected member of the central leadership and the Political Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. In 1946 he was elected deputy general secretary by the central leadership. From August 1948 until June 1950 he was minister of interior. In the spring of 1951 he was arrested on trumped up charges and imprisoned. He was rehabilitated in 1954. In July 1956 he was elected member of the Political Committee and secretary of the central leadership.

In November 1956 the Hungarian revolutionary workers' and peasants' government and the provisional Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party were formed under his leadership. Since June 1957 he was first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and since 1985 general secretary of the HSWP.

Grosz Biographical Notes

LD2205220788 Budapest MTI in English 2136 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Karoly Grosz"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz was born in 1930 in Miskolc. His original occupation was typographer. He gratudated from the party college, and the Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest. He has been a member of the party since 1945. From 1950, he worked in the central apparatus of the party, then was a regular military officer. From 1962 to 1968, he was secretary of the party committee of the Hungarian radio and television, from 1968, he was deputy department head of the Central Committee. In 1973, he was first secretary of the Fejer County Party committee, then from 1974 to 1979, department head of the Central Committee. He was then first secretary of the Borsod County Committee of the HSWP. From 1984, he was first secretary of the Budapest Committee of the HSWP, and the Council of Ministers elected him chairman on June 25, 1987. He has been a member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1980, and of the Political Committee since 1985.

Berecz Biographical Notes

LD2205221088 Budapest MTI in English 2139 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Janos Berecz"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Janos Berecz was born in Ibrany, Szabolcs-Szatmar County in 1930. He graduated from the Lenin Institute, the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, then became a holder of a candidate's degree in historical sciences. He has been a member of the party since 1951. From 1955, he fulfilled various functions in the Democratic Youth Federation (DISZ) and the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ). In 1966, he was elected secretary of the party committee of the Foreign Ministry. From 1972, he

was deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, from 1974 head of the Department. From 1982, he was editor-in-chief of "NEPSZABADSAG". He was elected secretary of the Central Committee in 1985. He has been a member of the Central Committee since 1980, of the Political Committee since 1987. He is a deputy of the National Assembly.

Csehak Biographical Notes

LD2305004288 Budapest MTI in English 2146 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Judit Csehak"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Judit Csehak was born in Szekszard in 1940. She graduated from the Semmelweis Medical Sciences University of Budapest. She has been a member of the party since 1967. Until 1965, she was assistant physician in the Tolna County Council hospital, then became district physician of Fad Village, then head physician of department of the Szekszard City Council. Form 1975 to 1978, she was secretary of the central leadership of the Union of Medical Workers, and later secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions. From 1984 she was deputy chairwoman of the Council of Ministers. Following the reorganization of the government, she has been minister of social-welfare and health since the end of 1987. She has been a member of the Central Committee since 1985, and became a member of the Political Committee in 1987.

Fejti Biographical Notes

LD2305083088 Budapest MTI in English 0035 GMT 23 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Gyorgy Fejti"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—He was born in 1946 in Satoraljaujhely, from a working class family. He graduated from the Budapest Technical University. He has been a member of the party since 1968. From 1969 he was professor's assistant at the Budapest Technical University. From 1972, he was active in the apparatus of the Communist Youth Union Central Committee. From 1976-1979 he was secretary of the KISZ Central Committee. From 1979, he was deputy head of the party and mass organizations department of the HSWP Central Committee. In 1980, he was elected first secretary of the Communist Youth Union Central Committee, then was first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County Committee of the HSWP between 1985 and 1987. He has been a member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1980. He has been secretary of the HSWP Central Committee since June, 1987.

Gyenes Biographical Notes

LD2305084988 Budapest MTI in English 0050 GMT 23 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Andras Gyenes"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Andras Gyenes was born in 1923. He was originally a meat industry worker. Party member since 1945. In 1948 he was deputy general secretary of the Union of Meat Industry Workers and in 1948-1949 head of sub-department at the Central Council of Trade Unions. Then he was deputy general secretary and general secretary of the Union of Food Industry Workers. From 1953 to 1958 worked at the Central Council of Trade Unions. From 1958 to 1962 deputy president of the Hungarian Council of Physical Education and Sports, and from 1970 deputy head of department and head of department at the HSWP Central Committee. In 1970-1971 deputy minister of foreign affairs. From 1971 to 1974 head of department at the Central Committee. Then ambassador of Hungary to the GDR and, from 1975 to 1982, secretary of the Central Committee. President of the Central Control Committee since 1982.

Hamori Biographical Notes

LD2305004688 Budapest MTI in English 2152 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Csaba Hamori"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Csaba Hamori was born at Budakeszi, Pest County, in 1948. Graduated as a mechanical engineer from the Budapest Technical University in 1973. Member of the party since 1970. From 1973 he was assistant lecturer at the Technical University and from 1975 secretary of the KISZ committee of the university. Head of the organizational department at the KISZ Central Committee from 1976 and first secretary of the KISZ Budapest Committee from 1977 to 1980. From 1980 to 1984 he was first secretary of the party committee in District 19 of Budapest. Since December 1984 he has been first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee and member of the HSWP Central Committee. Since 1985 member of the Political Committee. Member of parliament.

Ivanyi Biographical Notes

LD2305025388 Budapest MTI in English 2154 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Pal Ivanyi"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Pal Ivanyi was born in Budapest in 1942. Graduated from the Budapest Technical University in 1967 and from the Political College in 1976. Member of the party since 1969. In 1961 he was an unskilled worker and then a technical supervisor at

the Csepel automobile factory. From 1962 university student and from 1967 research engineer and deputy head of department at the Csepel automobile factory. From 1976 to 1980 secretary of the party committee of Malev Hungarian Airlines. Then he was head of department at the HSWP Budapest Committee until 1984 and head of department at the Economic Policy Department at the HSWP CC until 1986. He has been president of the Budapest Metropolitan Council since 1986 and member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1987.

Lukacs Biographical Notes

LD2305025688 Budapest MTI in English 2211 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Janos Lukacs"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Janos Lukacs was born in 1935 in Puspokszenterzsebet, from a working class family. His original occupation was bricklayer. He graduated from the Political College of the HSWP. He has been a member of the party since 1953. From 1954, he fulfilled various leading functions in the youth movement. In 1964, he was elected first secretary of the Baranya County Committee of the Communist Youth Union (KISZ). From 1972, he was secretary of the Pecs Committee of the HSWP, then became first secretary. In 1980, he was elected first secretary of the Baranya County Committee of the HSWP. From Jun 1987, he was secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, then leader of the party building work group affiliated to the Central Committee, head of the Youth Committee. He has been a member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1985.

Nemeth Biographical Notes

LD2305025888 Budapest MTI in English 2214 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Miklos Nemeth"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—He was born in 1948. He graduated from the University of Economics. He has been a member of the party since 1968. He first worked in the Karl Marx University of Economics, as professor's assistant. From 1977 to 1981, he was deputy department head at the National Planning Office, then was staff-member of the Economic Policy Department of the HSWP Central Committee, then deputy department head. In 1987, he was appointed head of department, then was elected member of the HSWP Central Committee, and secretary of the Central Committee. He was member of the Economic Policy Committee of the Central Committee, then president.

Nyers Biographical Notes

LD2305030288 Budapest MTI in English 2216 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Rezso Nyers"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers was born in 1923. He was a printer originally. Until 1944 he worked as a type-setter at various workplaces. Deputy secretary of the Kispest organization of the Social Democratic Party until 1948. Then he was the organizing secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party in County Pest. In the 1950s he was head of department at the Ministry of Internal Trade, deputy president and then president of the National Council of Consumer Cooperatives (SZOVOSZ). From 1960 to 1962 minister of finance, then secretary of the HSWP Central Committee until 1974 and member of the Political Committee from 1966 to 1975. From 1981 advisor of the Economics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Science. Party member since 1940 and member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1957.

Pal Biographical Notes

LD2305083488 Budapest MTI in English 0038 GMT 23 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Lenard Pal"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Lenard Pal was born in 1925 in Gyoma. He graduated as chemist from the Budapest University, then worked as professor's assistant at the university. He has been a member of the party since 1945. From 1950 to 1953, he carried out research at the Lomonosov University in Moscow. Between 1953 and 1978, he worked in the Central Physics Research Institute (KFKI), and was chief director from 1974. From 1978, he was president of the State Office for Technical Development (OMFB) and the National Atomic Energy Committee. Between 1980 and 1984 he was general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and parallel president of the Intercosmos Council of the academy. Between 1984 and 1985, he was again president of the OMFB.

He has been a member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1975, and secretary of the HSWP Central Committee from 1985. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected him corresponding member in 1961, and regular member in 1973.

Pozsgay Biographical Notes

LD2305031588 Budapest MTI in English 2221 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Imre Pozsgay"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay was born in Kony, county Somogy, in 1933. He was a teacher originally. He has been a party member since 1950.

From 1957 to 1965 director of the University of Marxism-Leninism of the Bacs-Kiskun County party committee, then filled various posts at the Bacs-Kiskun County party committee. In 1968 he was elected secretary of the county party committee and in 1970 appointed section head of sub-department at the HSWP Central Committee. From 1971 to 1975 he was deputy head of department at the Central Committee, then worked as deputy minister of culture, minister of culture and minister of education. Sine 1982 he has been general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. Member of Parliament.

Somogyi Biographical Notes

LD2305084788 Budapest MTI in English 0053 GMT 23 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Imre Somogyi"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Imre Somogyi was born at Salfold in 1930. Casual labourer from 1944 to 1951. Graduated from the teachers training college, the Zrinyi Miklos Military Academy and the party college of the HSWP CC. Member of the party since 1952. From 1951 to 1956 he was a group leader at the central leadership of the Democratic Youth Federation, then teacher at the Arany Janos grammar school. From 1958 to 1969 worked in the apparatus of the KISZ. He was first secretary of the party committee in district 4 of Budapest until 1980. Since that year he has been secretary of the HSWP Central Control Committee.

Szabo Biographical Notes

LD2305031788 Budapest MTI in English 2224 GMT 22 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Istvan Szabo"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Istvan Szabo was born in Nadudvar, County Hajdu-Bihar, in 1924. Graduated from the Agricultural Academy. Party member since 1951. He has been working in the 'Voros Csillag' cooperative farm since its establishment and as a chairman since 1952. President of the National Council of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives since 1967. He headed the national cooperative council as chairman on some occasions. Member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1966. In the spring of 1985 he was elected member of the Political Committee.

Szuros Biographical Notes

LD2305083888 Budapest MTI in English 0041 GMT 23 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Matyas Szuros"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros was born in 1933 in Puspokladany. In 1959 he graduated from the Institute of International Relations in Moscow. He has been a member of the party since 1951. He worked in the Foreign Ministry from 1959. From 1965 to 1975, he was political staff-member of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, then deputy department head. Between 1975 and 1978, he was ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the GDR, between 1978 and 1982 was ambassador to the Soviet Union. From 1982, he was head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee. He has been a member of the HSWP Central Committee since 1978, and has been secretary of the Central Committee since July 1983. He is a deputy in the National Assembly, and president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly.

Tatai Biographical Notes

LD2305081088 Budapest MTI in English 0029 GMT 23 May 88

["Party Conference—Biographical Notes—Ilona Tatai"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—She was born in 1935 in Budapest. She graduated as a chemical engineer, and is candidate degree holder of the chemical sciences and doctor of technical sciences. She has been a member of the party since 1965. Between 1952 and 1959, she worked as laboratory assistant in the Army, then worked in the Hungarian transmitter tube factory. She has worked in her current workplace since 1959. She first was laboratory assistant, then plant leader. Following the setting up of the national rubber industry enterprise. She was scientific staff member from 1964, then department head, then technical advisor, then deputy factory manager. She has been director-general of the Taurus rubber industry enterprise since 1975. She was elected to the Central Committee in 1987, and became member of the Economic Policy Committee of the Central Committee.

NEPSZABADSAG Editorial Article on Party Conference

LD2405080888 Budapest MTI in English 0036 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 24 (MTI)—"The place of the national conference that ended on Sunday, and its significance will be determined by the turn of events in the future, by history. However, the task accomplished by the conference qualified it in itself", writes an editorial article in Tuesday's "NEPSZABADSAG".

"Prior to the party conference, in the tense situation experienced by the party in view of the accumulating economic woes of the country, the outworn frames hindering democratic development and the related moral erosion and the diminishing political confidence, it could not be seen in advance whether the determination to change would gain the upper hand over hesitation, expectation, and the concept of progressing by small steps.

"Since 1957 and 1968, this is the most profound concept for change which ends an age and one which is also capable of opening a new age in our party", states the daily.

"The party conference gave a unanimous and clear yes to extensive reform. It lifted such psychological obstacles from our way as our own hesitation and delaying, our dispiritedness to continue on a previously launched correct road. Although there is no room for, and it is not possible to draw parallels with the state and problems of a society, as the Soviet society, living amidst different circumstances and struggling with other kinds of problems, we can, all the same, also say that which has almost become the slogan or perestroyka, that there is no road other than what we have begun, but have not progressed on till the end, and there is no place for us to retreat.

"When we recall these thoughts, the party and the country should recall the merits of the man whose personal bravery, political will and balanced character opened this road as the first among the socialist countries, and whose name is attached to major reforms historically as well: the name of Janos Kadar. This article offers an opportunity only to forward the emotions of a party and a people in the moments when they learned that he is handing over his place to the new general secretary. The party and the nation would like, and we can say this without any risk of errors, that the spirit of building national unity, of respect for the allies, of confidence in the future and of communist principledness which characterized him and his style remain and continue to be incorporated into the future of our political life."

"Irrespective of the importance of the activity and the decisions of the party conference, at this moment these are no more than opportunities which we can utilize in the future. The basic situation of the country has not changed with this. Neither has the sum of our debts nor the degree of inflation, nor the complexity of putting our economy in order. What has changed, and what is of immeasurable value, are the tasks, the intentions, the methods and the clarification of the policy. What has changed is that the party is now beginning to find its vocation. But this is only the beginning. The new general secretary, Karoly Grosz, referred to this when he stressed: 'It is thus my conviction that one party is needed, with the emphasis on party. A militant alliance as what it was in the beginning and what it could be if cleared of fixed ideological prejudices.'

"The age of words has ended. Now is the time for action, action by all of us", writes the article in "NEPSZABADSAG".

Public Polled on Results of MSZMP Conference

LD2305180288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] The Mass Information Research Center and the Newspaper Publishing Enterprise have examined the effect on public opinion of the MSZMP party conference. According to this, two-thirds of the people said that the changes met with their expectations. On the other hand more than one-quarter of those asked said they had expected more significant changes. Out of 100, 42 felt that the conference was characterized by the differences of views; almost as many people considered the agreement as remarkable.

What people said they liked about the party conference was the open, critical, and honest tone; the personnel changes; the Pozsgay speech; the person of the new general secretary, as well as Janos Kadar's position as MSZMP chairman.

At the same time they did not consider it favorable for one and the same person to hold for a long time the posts of party general secretary and prime minister.

On the first evening of the conference, two-thirds of the people said that in recent months party unity had weakened; by the end of the session only one-half of people retained this opinion. The survey of the Mass Information Research Center was based on the opinions of 202 people and that of the Newspaper Publishing Enterprise on the basis of 351 people. We thank them for having placed the above data at our disposal.

Grosz, Varkonyi Meet With Iran's Larijani 18 May

LD1905192788 Tehran IRNA in English 1905 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 19, IRNA—Deputy Foreign Minister for Euro-American Affairs Mohammad Javad Larijani, currently in Budapest, conferred with Hungarian Prime Minister Karoly Grosz and Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, in seperate meetings on Wednesday [18 May].

Larijani explained to Hungarian officials Iran's stance on the imposed war, the latest developments concerning U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar's plan in this regard and the U.S. military intervention in the Persian Gulf.

The two sides also discussed expansion of Tehran-Budapest political and economic relations as well as promotion of Iran's ties with socialist bloc countries.

In his meeting with the Hungarian premier, Larijani said the Islamic Republic reached an understanding during talks with De Cuellar for finding a just end to the Iraqi imposed war. The subject, he added, was also endorsed by the U.N. Security Council.

But it seems the U.N. secretary general faces two major problems to carry out his plan, said Larijani. One is Baghdad's attitude toward Resolution 598 and De Cuellar's plan, while the other is Washington's schemings to take revenge on the Islamic revolution and Iran, (through the resolution), he added.

He continued that the U.S. has no interest whatsoever to see the war end honourably and the Iraqi regime wants to exploit the resolution as a means of coming out clean after its blatant aggression on Iran and years of shocking crimes.

Elaborating the issue, Larijani said the obvious example is Washington's violation of Para 5 of Resolution 598 pointing "We are witnessing increased military aggressions by the U.S. against the Islamic Republic's interests in the Persian Gulf.

Para 5 of Resolution 598 calls upon all other states to exercise utmost restraint and to refrain from any act which may lead to further escalation and widening of the conflict (between Iraq and Iran).

In response, the Hungarian prime minister said Budapest has officialy condemned attack on civilians areas and also deployment of chemical weapons in the Iraq-Iran war.

Grosz said U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf and its recent military adventurism there is strongly deplored by his country.

Budapest attaches great importance to its ties with the Islamic Republic, he said adding this policy is pursued by all countries in the socialist bloc.

At the end of the meeting Grosz expressed thanks for his Iranian counterpart Hoseyn Musavi's message inviting him to visit Iran, and said he hopes to visit Tehran late fall this year.

In his meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister, Larijani expressing hope for betterment of Tehran-Budapest relations called for strengthening of bilateral politcal and economic ties.

Peter Varkonyi said in reply that one of the most important world issues is the Iraq-Iran war, and said the two warring countries should endeavour to find a fair solution to end the conflict.

He also expressed satisfaction with good economic and political ties Iran and Hungary enjoy.

Frigyes Berecz Meets Larijani

LD2105042688 Tehran IRNA in English
1839 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 20, IRNA—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister in Charge of Europe-American Affairs Mohammad Javad Larijani currently in Budapest met Hungarian Industries Minister Frigyes Berecz Thursday.

Larijani said that the Islamic Republic of Iran was ready to expand its relations in trade, industrial, technical and oil aspects with Hungary.

Larijani said that certain proposed plans will be discussed and signed in the next joint economic commission to be held in Tehran next month.

In response Hungarian minister said that considering the economic reforms implemented in his country the volume of technical, economic, industrial, scientific and trade cooperation between the two countries is expected to be promoted and that the trend could be further accelerated.

Hungary is also willing to expand relations with Iran and continue to be a trustworthy party to the Islamic Republic of Iran, Berecz said.

Larijani also met deputy external trade minister and reviewed Iran-Hungarian economic and trade cooperation with Iran.

Larijani also held seperate meetings with Hungarian deputy foreign minister and reviewed with him bilateral political economic affairs as well as regional and international issues, the current situation in the Persian Gulf and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

He described the basic stances of the Islamic Republic of Iran and said that Iran attaches special importance to the expansion and strengthening of Tehran-Budapest ties in political and economic fields.

Hungarian deputy foreign minister said that his country has expressed support for the Islamic Republic of Iran since the victory of the Islamic revolution in 1979 and condemned any measure against Iran.

He added that Hungary followed Persian Gulf developments very carefully and that it maintains that the presence of foreign forces in the region is counter to peace, and a challenge to foreign policies in the region.

MTI on Meetings

LD2005150588 Budapest MTI in English
1325 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 20 (MTI)—Mohammad Javad Larijani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, held talks in Budapest from May 17 to 20. The Iranian diplomat met Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Iranian inter-governmental economic joint committee, Gyula Horn, state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Tibor Melega, deputy minister of foreign trade, and held talks with his host Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The sides reviewed topical issues of international life, with special regard to the latest events of the Gulf. The Iranian diplomat expounded that his country strives to settle the Iraq-Iran conflict by peaceful means. The

Hungarian side, in accordance with the Security Council Resolution 598, underlined the importance of the soonest possible just settlement of the conflict. The sides voiced their satisfaction with the development of bilateral political, economic and commercial relations, which have been intensified since the visit to Budapest of Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi in 1986. They agreed that bilateral cooperation can be extended on the basis of reciprocal advantages. As to topical issues of technical and scientific relations and industrial and agricultural cooperation, the parties underlined the importance of the forthcoming session of the inter-governmental economic joint committee, to be held in Tehran.

Jaruzelski Congratulates Grosz, Kadar

LD2405001988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent a congratulatory telegram to MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz. We are convinced, says the telegram, that the consistent implementation of the complex program for developing relations between the PPR and the Hungarian People's Republic up to the year 2000 will contribute to an increase in the efficiency of our cooperation and enrich it with new substance and forms, which correspond to the changes taking place in both countries in accord with the needs of contemporary life and the aspirations of our nations.

Wojciech Jaruzelski also sent a telegram to Janos Kadar in connection with his being entrusted with the post of MSZMP president. The telegram expresses deep respect for the historic services of Janos Kadar for the Hungarian nation, the socialist community, and the peaceful cooperation among nations.

Council of Ministers Conducts Business

LD2305191588 Warsaw PAP in English 1740 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—The Council of Ministers met on Monday to examine the draft law on military oath.

The proposed text of the oath differs from the one now in use in the essence and structure of its text. In particular, the new oath contains new important vows and a new hierarchy of values for the soldier to swear.

The draft law was submitted to the Sejm (parliament).

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution on the review of organizational structures in science. The review will cover all units which conduct scientific, research and developmental activities, among them ministerial units and scientific institutes. The review is to be completed by the end of 1988.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on entrusting the prime minister with the execution of some of the special powers contained in the respective law on special powers for the Council of Ministers adopted on May 11, this year.

It also adopted a resolution concerning the special procedures of handling documents and drafts of the government's normative acts.

The Council also adopted a resolution on increasing subsidies during this year. The subsidies had been fixed by the budget law according to last year's prices. Changes in the supply and retail prices, as well as in the exchange rates, taking place this year, increase revenues but also budgetary spending.

The Council of Ministers adopted a decree which adjusts the procedural costs of misdemeanour cases to the actual growth of expenditures connected with the work of misdemeanour courts.

Finance Minister Interviewed on New Act

PM2405080188 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 13 May 88 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik by DZIENNIK ZACHODNI correspondent Lukasz Wyrzykowski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Wyrzykowski] The subject of the debates at the latest Sejm session was the discussion and adoption of the "Act on Extraordinary Powers and Prerogatives Granted to the Council of Ministers," which reinforces the government's position and makes it—as one of the deputies said—extra responsible for the country's economy. In practical terms, what does the introduction of this act mean to you, as finance minister, in the sphere of financial policy, a sphere which arouses the most passionate emotions?

[Samojlik] The act contains many elements which concern financial policy in general and specific financial solutions in particular, especially all sections referring to the whole range of matters to do with prices and taxation. The act prescribes that over a period of nearly 7 months of this year special price and taxation principles may be applied, not just those which are permitted by the act on the taxation of socialized enterprises (referring predominantly to socialized enterprises) or the act on prices. In other words, it allows the possibility, in certain circumstances and within a specified limit, of declaring some prices official, extending a range of prices at a short notice by abandoning certain official prices and introducing negotiated prices instead, or, where necessary, introducing controlled prices. To sum all this up, it will allow the introduction of such binding legislative solutions as are judged expedient on the basis of the practical needs existing at the time.

The same is true of solutions offered in the sphere of taxation. The act authorizes us to apply methods which are forced upon us by the realities of daily life. If these methods were introduced via detailed parliamentary laws, it would involve a rather lengthy process because it often takes months before we all agree on a bill, before everybody has spoken their mind, before a joint opinion emerges. With such an extensive range of opinions you get voices for and voices against, and eventually you arrive at a consensus. But that consensus, or consent to choose a midway solution, often proves ineffective.

Thus at a time when the budgetary balance is threatened and the level— assumed in the act—of budgetary deficit is in danger of further increase, the situation is indeed serious. To save the situation and maintain the balance, certain operational improvements are necessary. The act sets out to do this.

[Wyrzykowski] Almost everyone who spoke in the Sejm during the Wednesday session—while deploring the lack of any significant results following the reform measures applied to our economy to date and remaining keenly aware of its current state—expressed their hope, or conviction, that the act will become a stimulator for future economic development. Similarly, almost everyone emphasized the fact that we are faced with a period when sacrifices will have to be made before any visible improvement of the situation can occur. This, to put it frankly, is not the sort of news one looks forward to. However, since a considerable proportion of the population did express its consent to these sacrifices in the [October 1987] referendum, and since it is now time for them to be made, everyone would like to know how long they will last and how great they will have to be.

[Samojlik] I will tell you frankly that I am not too keen on the philosophy of sacrifice and subsequent reward. It sounds like the popular view of the farming life: First we have a period of hard work and heavy toil, and later we will reap the rewards. Farmers know only too well that this is not true. They have to work hard both during the cultivation season and during the harvest. Always, in fact! And so there is no division of our life into periods when we toil and subsequent periods when we rest. In the economy there is no division into days (work) and nights (rest). There is, in practical terms, the need to adapt the effort to the scale of the needs we want to meet.

If we set ourselves specific targets, the effort has to match the scope of these targets. So the problem of our sacrifices and our work depends on which problems we intend to resolve and how much we want to achieve. Because it would amount to fostering illusions, or to demagoguery, if I were to state that now we must work very hard for 7 months and after that we will reap the rewards.

[Wyrzykowski] Please tell me how much the newly passed act will help you in your work as minister. To what an extent do you expect to be able to tidy up and strengthen the state budget?

[Samojlik] I believe that if the government did not believe this to be possible, it would not have presented the Sejm with the bill. The act certainly creates opportunities for a quicker and more effective reaction to what takes place in the economy. Because any economy, if it is to be managed efficiently, requires prompt action. The opportunity for taking prompt action has to be there. And so the act allows us to react promptly and energetically to all the negative phenomena. Thus—and I regard it as a very important and significant development—the government cannot now claim in an attempt at self-justification that it might have taken certain action had it not been for the law which forbade it. It will no longer be possible to use this argument in self-defense. The new act will allow a great many things.

[Wyrzykowski] That is what some people are afraid of. Because on the one hand, as the deputies have stressed, they will be faced with a wider range of responsibilities, and, on the other, there is the central, directive system...

[Samojlik] But you should remember that at the same time the act contains a provision whereby the government will have to present periodic reports to the Sejm on how it has used the powers granted it by the act. The government will have to account for every decision it has taken. And every one of these decisions will be made, so to speak, with the curtain raised. New measures will not be planned in the seclusion of government chambers and introduced without taking any notice of public opinion and reactions. No one can get away with such practices!

[Wyrzykowski] Minister, those who have controlled the finances of the state have never been much loved by the subjects, as they were called in the old days, or by the public, as we say now. We need only to mention the name of Colbert, the controller general of finance who was joint creator of France's power during the reign of Louis XIV, the Sun King. I imagine you are well aware that you must be, if I may use the expression, the least loved representative of the authorities. Have you never wondered what you might do to become a little better loved?

[Samojlik] You yourself said that no manager of state finance has ever been loved by the citizens. Society never likes to pay taxes, regardless of how wealthy it is. Even in very rich countries their very rich citizens try to avoid the taxman. And so I do not analyze my position in terms of how I could be better loved. On the other hand, I should like to see more understanding for the operations of the ministry I am heading, since these are subordinate to reasons of state and reasons of social interest. I know that these days it is especially difficult to show such understanding.

[Wyrzykowski] Thank you.

Czyrek Interviewed on Reforms, Democratization

AU1805161888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 May 88 pp 1,3

[Interview with Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by TRYBUNA LUDU staffer Zygmunt Slomkowski: "There Is No Turning Back From the Reforms and Democratization"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Slomkowski] One of the chief topics of conversation among Poles is the reform and the continuation of the process of democratization. There are many questions, doubts, and even fears, probably because the average citizen views the reforms from the angle of prices and wages. The latest wage demands boost inflation, therefore they are against the reform. We also know that there are efforts to sow distrust in the reform and its

effectiveness. More than that, there are even efforts to undermine the political desire to expand the reforms that were announced at the sixth plenum.

[Czyrek] If the reforms did not cause doubts and if they did not reveal even sharp discrepancies, they would merely be cosmetic changes. They would be nothing other than "improvements," which is a slogan that gives rise to inertia and complacency. When we decided on a significant acceleration of the economic and political reforms at the fifth and sixth plenums, we harbored no illusions that everything would proceed smoothly like a Sunday walk in the Lazienki Park in Warsaw.

The profound sociopolitical and economic changes, in fact the building of a Polish model of socialist transformations, are encountering obstacles and difficulties, internal ones, and external ones connected with the international situation. Some of these difficulties are without doubt the latest illegal strikes which, regardless of the individual motives of their participants and the understandable bitterness caused by the difficult situation, are objectively against the reform. By applying pressure for wage rises that are not justified by increased output, reduced production costs, and material economies, these strikes threaten an already unstable market with collapse. They strike at the policy of dialogue and national accord itself. They represent a return to blackmail, the strike weapon, and the forlorn tactic of "the worse it is, the better."

It is not difficult to imagine how this would end and what its effects would be if one remembers our recent political and economic experience. The firm majority of our society realized this when they rejected the illegal strike method of resolving the discrepancies in our socioeconomic and political life. Such citizen-like maturity was bound to disappoint and worry all the reform's opponents, regardless of their motives. And the reform's opponents are not united at all. All that unites them is a joint rubbing of hands with glee, because of the difficulties and obstacles on the path of the Polish transformations within the framework of socialist renewal. Thus, the message of the latest events is decidedly ideological and suggests a basic dispute about the socialist renewal. It also possesses a broad echo that goes far beyond Poland's borders.

[Slomkowski] In a situation like this, a political desire to continue and develop the reforms is of major importance.

[Czyrek] Our party and the country's allied patriotic forces have spoken and are speaking out in favor of a consistent implementation of the policy of profound reforms. As Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski has said many times, there is no turning back from this policy. Let me recall the first secretary's words on 1 May: "There will be neither a turning back from openness, democratization, and the line of national accord, nor a return to chaos and anarchy."

These are not empty words. We have not applied for special government powers in order to block the reforms, but to release their brakes. Not in order to slow the reforms down, but to speed them up. We intend to speed up the implementation of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum resolution, which laid down the reform tasks that stem from the philosophy of enhancing the reform. We believe that the dividing line is not caused by differences in political opinion, age differences, or different views on how to solve national problems. The dividing line runs between those who profess the principle of "the worse it is, the better," and those who, despite the differences between them, nevertheless concur that Poland's inflated problems have to be solved consistently and decisively, and who believe that wasting time, national energy, and our potential will only harm the fatherland and that further, more profound pro-reform action is necessary.

Therefore there is a chance and a possibility of forming a kind of pro-reform coalition or anticrisis pact. In any case, names do not matter. What matters is the subject, in other, words national accord that accelerates our country's development, the democratization of our political and economic life, the reforms, and our economic development. In this way we can meet the social challenge, so that our country does not remain on the sidelines of world changes and processes. Against this background, dialogue and accord are not only possible, but essential.

Historic proof that such possibilities exist is provided by the development of relations between the socialist state and church. These relations went through various stages of development after the war, but a feeling of responsibility always triumphed over them. The welfare of our people and state was always the supreme interest. This is of particular relevance to the present situation.

Accord is impossible only with those who profess the principle of "the worse it is, the better," and who have just tried to implement this principle by means of events that are well known.

[Slomkowski] Some people at home and abroad insist that what our sociopolitical life needs most is pluralism, and that the legalization of this or that group will solve the economic difficulties....

[Czyrek] Pluralism already exists in our sociopolitical reality as well as in economic reality. We have a pluralism of outlook and a pluralism of political, class, and professional convictions. We even have a pluralism of industrial interests, to say nothing of our political system, in which non-Marxist allied parties exist side by side with our Marxist party, and pluralistic institutions such as the Consultative Council or PRON. The trade union movement also enjoys its own pluralism. Apart from the trade unions that are part of the trade union federations and OPZZ, there are many trade unions that are independent of these structures. There are Catholic

and Christian organizations and associations with their own press and their own Sejm representations. The economy is multisectored, with a constitutional guarantee of the permanence of private farming.

[Czyrek] However, we are not saying that this pluralist system is in its final form. It can be developed further, but within a certain framework, as long as our institutional and constitutional principles are respected. A pluralist system that deliberately clears the way for open confrontation and destructive struggles would be an insult to our political maturity and the importance of the experiences of our people. It would weaken our country's international position. We are in favor of a pluralist system for cooperation, which at the present time could take the form of the anticrisis package already mentioned, or some other way of expanding the reform-oriented coalition.

[Slomkowski] Does this mean that the concept of opposition must be excluded from our political vocabulary?

[Czyrek] No. But it is not possible to transfer certain substances and forms that have arise in one system to another one that is governed by different principles. Socialist pluralism is developing according to other principles and has a different substance from capitalist pluralism. It has its own features and, despite all the conflicts that exist, it is not developing on the basis of confrontation, but in line with a policy of dialogue and national accord. I am not saying that the problem of pluralism has been worked out in theory and practice, but we find attempts to impose on us the forms and principles of bourgeois democracy unacceptable.

Advocates of this kind of pluralism should not forget that capitalist pluralism and its principles have strict limits that preserve the existing system.

The opposition that manifests itself in a socialist system has various facets and various social, class, and other sources. There may be opposition to concrete decisions, which we can call situational opposition, and there may be opposition toward entire programs, for example, toward housing or other investment programs. This is the type of opposition that exists under socialism. It has to be called by its name and integrated into the mechanism for resolving conflicts, and this is based on the assumption that no one has a monopoly on being right with regard to concrete matters, even when these matters have a broader scope.

[Slomkowski] If I may, I would like to return to one of the elements raised in the introductory question. It concerns public perceptions of the reform. They have become a factor in the moods that exist in certain circles and an important factor in views of the future.

[Czyrek] This is a phenomenon of considerable importance, because a lack of faith in the success of the reform, which is something that exists and is even being encouraged, also poses a threat to it; this assessment of the reform is based solely on prices and incomes policy, on—to put it in concrete terms— the difficulties that exist in the marketplace and inflationary tendencies.

Of course, it is natural for society to assess the economic situation on the basis of what kind of goods are available. This is because it the easiest yardstick to apply in determining whether a particular economic policy is successful. It is understandable that the current market situation gives rise to misgivings.

It is worth recalling that, before last year's referendum on the second stage of the economic reform, we stated that a difficult period would be inevitable and that certain sacrifices would even have to be made. We stated that the transition to a new, higher level of activity might mean that, for a time, current mechanisms will stop functioning, whereas the new ones will still not be fully in place. Thus, a certain margin of disorganization seems inevitable.

Prices are rising. Wages are also rising all the time. According to statistics, incomes are rising more rapidly than prices. However, the public's perception is often the very opposite of this. A great deal depends on individual consumption patterns, but wage differences in various occupational groups have an even greater impact on opinion. Let us add that there are often unjust differences in income. All this affects attitudes and moods and increases dissatisfaction.

However, we have to remember that there are a great many objective sources of dissatisfaction that cannot be avoided. In addition, we ought to mention the effects of the economic crisis that occurred at the beginning of the eighties, the need to repay foreign debts in a situation in which the West is pursuing a discriminatory policy toward us. The high birthrate is also something that has an impact. On the other hand, the positive effects of the reform, such as an increase in agricultural output, more foreign trade, greater economic efficiency, and higher productivity in the socialized sector of the economy—are not so tangible.

The basic, strategic goal of the reform is greater operational efficiency, higher output and lower production costs, and the creation of more national income for distribution, while reducing the costs that this entails. The reform is beginning to have these effects. The results obtained so far even indicate that, if its mechanisms can be further improved and the instruments that it contains form a more cohesive whole, a constantly higher level of efficiency in our economy will become an indispensable condition for better meeting the growing needs.

[Slomkowski] In talking about threats or just questions about the future of the reform, it is not possible to ignore the doubts that exist about the government's special powers. Will these powers not slow down the reform? Will they not restrict self-management and lead to the center having greater power once again? Will these powers not provide the economic bureaucracy with a weapon?

[Czyrek] The misgivings voiced by various circles, including trade unions, about the powers that were proposed initially were understandable. However, their final form, which was arrived at by way of dialogue with many sociopolitical forces in our country, including the trade unions, has conclusively dispelled such misgivings. This was at least reflected in the votes at the Sejm, where the first draft gave rise to serious fears and reservations, whereas the draft prepared by the Sejm commissions won almost unanimous support.

Of course, the law on special powers cannot automatically guarantee that the powers are applied in accordance with goals and intentions, because the obstacles that you hinted at in your question are still strong, and consistency and resolve is needed in surmounting them. All those involved in sociopolitical life, and the party first and foremost, have an enormous part to play in effectively surmounting these obstacles of a bureaucratic, conservative kind.

[Slomkowski] The success of economic reform is closely tied to progress in the democratization of our life. Our party regards the coming elections to the people's councils, that is, the new election law, as one of the strides along this road. However, there are signs that efforts are being made in various places to continue the old practices within the terms of that law. This applies not only to the election law, but also to other measures to promote democratization and the people's share in solving our joint problems.

[Czyrek] We are fully aware that economic reforms depend on political reforms, and we stressed this at the sixth Central Committee plenum. Recalling the Politburo report published before that plenum, I wish to stress that "political and socioeconomic changes are an indivisible whole. Without profound changes in economic life, democratization will be shallow. On the other hand, economic changes have to be supported by the socialist state that is healthy and strong."

We know from our own experience that economic and political reforms depend on one another, because the absence of parallel economic and political changes and, especially, shortcomings in political reforms have frustrated many reforming processes. Other socialist countries have had the same experience.

That is why we have to approach this issue on a wider front and to take a new and unadulterated look at man's role in socialism and at his responsible place in sociopolitical and economic changes. Indulging a little in sloganizing, exaggerating, and simplifying, we could say that this is a transition from the policy "of nationalizing society" to the policy of socializing the state. But this does not in any way signify the weakening of the state. On the contrary, this signifies the strengthening of the state, because the state that abandons its ambition to be omnipotent is able to increase its strength through its citizens' sense of being able to participate in and take responsibility for their development. This is one feature of the program of our reforms.

We have done much in this regard, including the preparations for the elections to the people's councils of all grades. We want to radically change the election law so that, instead of voting in a referendum-like fashion for nominated candidates, people can choose the candidates they want to represent them on the people's councils.

However, this is not the only democratization measure in this important area. The new alignment of the people's councils in the structures of our state is also very important. The bill on the people's council and territorial self-government groups turns the councils into genuine masters of their own areas, bestows a legal status on them, creates a new constitutional form of communal ownership, and sets up foundations of fiscal independence and self-management in catering to the needs of regions and in solving the problems of their socioeconomic development.

It is unfortunate that the realization that the people's councils will play this new role is still narrow. We must change this state of affairs during the present election campaign, because, for one, the militancy of the electorate will depend on the correct understanding of the councils' role.

The election campaign continues to be favorable on the whole, although it does not measure up to the needs of the country's current sociopolitical situation. Peripheral cases in which people follow old patterns of activity continue to occur. It is the duty of the party, the sister parties, and all forces participating in the process of choosing new people's councils to take action against this trend.

[Slomkowski] We still carry the burden of passivity, of the habit that someone else should make decisions, and, perhaps, of fear of sharing responsibility. After all, it is easy to say after the event: It was not me. That fellow is responsible....

[Czyrek] It is certain that this is so. We all must learn how to use the instruments of democracy correctly and actively.

[Slomkowski] Another issue indirectly connected with the main subject of this interview: The mass media have again focused their spotlights on us, and even government statements have been made. There is no doubt that events in our country have had their specific importance, but it is easy to see the disproportion between their implications, on the one hand, and the noise made about them in the West and the rash conclusions drawn for today and tomorrow, on the other. How can all this be appraised in the light of our policy of dialogue and national accord, on the one hand, and the policy of opening and of the participation in the international dialogue, on the other?

[Czyrek] The West's reaction to the processes taking place in Poland has not been uniform and homogeneous at all. We can see that many states, governments, political circles, and institutes of international life understand our situation and realize that our measures to promote sociopolitical and economic reforms are necessary. They all realize that stability in Poland is important for the stability in Europe and for the processes of accord between East and West.

Having said this, we have to realize that old confrontational centers in the West continue to function and that these centers regard Poland as a tool in the promotion of the old policy of confrontation, policy that is now becoming a thing of the past. The reaction of those forces shows clearly that they want to use Poland as a tool in hindering the process of international dialogue and understanding, and in blocking efforts aimed at building a world without wars and aggression. This dualism in the West's policy and in the attempts to exploit the situation in Poland for the purposes of this reactionary policy is there today, and we have to reckon with this in the future, too. That is why the Poles are all the more responsible for what happens in our country and for the way in which the Polish affairs are and can be exploited to exert influence on the international situation along lines that—there is no need to remind you of this—run counter to our national interests and our development plans.

Our stance in this situation is clear. We will continue the policy of constructive contributions to the healing processes in the international arena and we will support the peace offensive of the USSR and other socialist countries by our actions and initiatives, such as the Jaruzelski Plan. We will seek to safeguard our economic interests.

On other hand, however, we will resolutely reject all attempts to interfere in our internal affairs and to use Poland as a tool for purposes of confrontation. I am convinced that a tremendous majority of our people approve of this policy, which, side by side with allied guarantees, is the basic guarantee of success of our international policy activities, which seek to create the most favorable external conditions for solving our current and long-term problems.

Constantin Radu Appointed Bucharest Mayor

AU2305131288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0850 GMT 23 May 88

["For the Record"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/05/1988—The plenary meeting of the Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee elected Constantin Radu, member of the CC of the RCP, to the office of first secretary of the Bucharest RCP Municipal Committee. Likewise, under presidential decree Constantin Radu was delegated to fulfill the office of chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council and mayor-general of the Romanian capital.

The plenum released from the office of first secretary of the Bucharest RCP Committee Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, who was given other assignments on a party line.

Political Executive Committee Meets 20 May

Discusses Delegation's UN Mandate

AU2005200488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 20 May 88

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP—the Mandate of the Romanian Delegation to the UN Special Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/05/1988—The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP endorsed the proposals for Romania's participation in the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament.

The Executive Political Committee agreed that, according to their mandate, the Romanian delegation should actively promote their country's stance on the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race in the first place, and the achievement of a passage to disarmament, the prevention of outer space militarization and an end to nuclear-weapon tests, the liquidation of chemical arms and the substantial reduction of conventional weapons, of troops and military spending, the removal of the war threat and the ensurance of the nations' and people's foremost right to existence, to freedom and independence, to life and peace.

It was assessed that given existing stockpiles, which can destroy living conditions on our planet several times over, a new way of thinking on, a new approach to and a new mode of settlement of the problems related to peace and war, of other complex world issues were needed, to entail a radical shift in the international life.

The Executive Political Committee requested the Romanian delegation to reiterate, from the rostrum of the high international forum, Romania's will to further work for the strengthening of cooperation with all the peoples, with the advanced forces everywhere, in the fight for the firm assertion of the peace, disarmament and collaboration policy, for the removal of the use and threat of force from international relations, for the constructive settlement of the major issues facing mankind.

Views Current Economic Issues

AU2005203188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 20 May 88

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP—Economic Questions"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/05/1988—Also during today's meeting, the Executive Political Committee looked into the report on the implementation, in the first quarter of 1988, of the main technico-economic indices approved for the commissioned industrial productive capacities.

The committee asked that, with a view to a better organization and progress of activities, collectives be set up consisting of specialists from ministries, central managements, research and design institutes and enterprises, which should contribute directly to preparing conditions required for the materialization of all the technico-economic indices.

The committee also looked into the report on meeting the norm-regulated consumptions of raw and subsidiary materials, fuel and electric power in the first quarter 1988 compared to the first quarter 1987, and the report on the way action was taken in the first quarter this year for cutting on the total and the material spending.

At the same time, the Executive Political Committee debated and passed proposals on establishing the frontrankers in the socialist emulation to overfulfill the single national plan of Romania's economic and social development in 1987.

The Executive Political Committee also discussed certain international questions and solved some organizational problems and questions of the current party and state activity.

Examines Industrial Production

AU2105131588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0843 GMT 21 May 88

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/5/1988—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP met on Friday, 20 May.

The Executive Political Committee examined a report on how the chief technical and economic indicators approved for the industrial production units that started operation were realized in the first quarter of the year.

The report stresses that firmer action had been taken during that period, especially in the month of March, to operate the newly commissioned production units as planned. Nevertheless, some of them failed to do that, which translated into failure to make the planned production and higher-than-planned costs.

Starting herefrom, the Executive Political Committee showed that firm steps should be taken to end the shortfalls as soon as possible, to better organize and carry on work, to operate and utilize the machines, plants and equipment properly, to improve the training of the operating and maintenance personnel so as to meet the complex demands of technological processes. For that purpose, specialist teams in ministries, central departments, research and design institutes, and enterprises must be set up and directly contribute to putting the conditions in place for the fulfilment of all technical and economic indicators. The State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Technical and Material Supply and Fixed Assets Management Control, the Ministry of Finance and all other central economic bodies, all productive units were urgent to follow with a full sense of responsibility the operation of the newly commissioned units and ensure that these being commissioned operate at capacity, the fact being of great importance for the implementation of the plan for 1988.

The Executive Political Committee also examined a report on the observance of the norms of raw and subsidiary material, fuel and electricity consumption in the first quarter of the year in comparison with the first quarter of 1987, and a report on the steps taken in the first quarter of the year to drop material and total expenditure.

From the data reported by ministries, central departments and enterprises, consumption was below the norms for several raw and subsidiary materials of importance for the national economy and lower than in the same period last year. However, on the national economy level, consumptions were higher than planned.

As concerns the total material expenses, the Executive Political Committee warned the Ministry of Mining, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Farm Product Acquisitions and Contracting that their figures for this year were higher, not lower, than last year, and asked the government to analyze the situation, and come with programmes of action within ten days so as to end this situation and bring it back to normal, so that the material and energy consumption norms be observed strictly and production expenses drop appreciably.

Greater order and discipline, a higher sense of responsibility in productive activities were urged to eliminate waste and loss, to strictly observe the norms in force, and more markedly to cut material consumption and expenditure.

The Executive Political Committee discussed and approved the nominations for the front-rankers in the socialist contest for the overfulfillment of Romania's economic and social development plan for 1987.

Next, the Executive Political Committee discussed and endorsed the proposals for the participation of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the third United Nations Organization General Assembly special session on disarmament.

The Executive Political Committee agreed that, according to their mandate, the Romanian delegation should actively promote their country's stance, the outlook and initiatives of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race in the first place, and the achievement of a passage to disarmament, the prevention of outer space militarization and an end to nuclear-weapon tests, the liquidation of chemical arms and the substantial reduction of conventional weapons, of troops and military spending, the removal of the war threat and the ensurance of the nations' and people's foremost right to existence, to freedom and independence, to life and peace.

It was assessed that given the existing stockpiles, which can destroy living conditions on our planet several times over, a new way of thinking on, a new approach to and a new mode of settlement of the problems related to peace and war, of other complex world issues were needed, to entail a radical shift in the international life.

The Executive Political Committee requested the Romanian delegation to reiterate, from the rostrum of the high international forum, Romania's will to further work, in the spirit of the decisions of the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the Party, for the strengthening of cooperation with all the peoples, with the advanced forces everywhere, in the fight for the firm assertion of the peace, disarmament and collaboration policy, for the removal of the use and threat of force from international relations, for the constructive settlement of the major issues facing mankind, for the building of a better and more just world, free from weapons and wars, in which every nation may concentrate its creative efforts on free, self-reliant development on the road of economic and social progress.

During the meeting, an information was read of the official friendly visit Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, paid to Romania over May 10-14.

The Executive Political Committee considered that, owing to its results, the visit went down as a new, substantial contribution to the continuous strengthening of Romanian-Soviet friendship and collaboration.

Emphasis was placed on the deciding role of summit dialogue in the sustained promotion of bilateral relations. In that context, the importance was underscored of the understandings reached between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, during their meetings in Bucharest and Moscow, which opened further prospects to the development of links between the two parties, countries and peoples. In that framework, the exchanges of opinions between Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko were shown to have highlighted a joint wish to unswervingly implement the accords and understandings reached at top level, to impart broader dimensions and an ever richer content to Romanian-Soviet collaboration and cooperation. Stress was laid on the importance of the conclusions reached during the talks in connection with the expansion and diversification of economic exchanges, of cooperation in and specialization of production in various areas of mutual interest, in keeping with the long-term programme for the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration between Romania and the USSR until the year 2000.

The Executive Political Committee also highlighted the significance of the exchange of views between Nicolae Ceausescu and Andrey Gromyko on the course of the international situation. Special appreciation was expressed for the fact that during the talks the will of Romania and of the Soviet Union had been reasserted to cooperate actively in the world arena, to further act, alongside the other socialist countries, the progressive, democratic forces everywhere, for the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of a firm passage to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of all interstate litigations, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a climate of detente, security, peace, understanding and broad international collaboration in Europe and in the world.

Unanimously approving of the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee requested the government, the ministries, the other central bodies and institutions to take every necessary step for the implementation of the understandings and accords reached at summit level, for the exemplary fulfillment of envisaged collaboration projects, for the manysided development of Romanian-Soviet cooperation.

The Executive Political Committee also discussed other international issues and solved organizational questions and problems of the current party and state activity.

Radio Reports Conclusion of MSZMP Conference

AU2305172188 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] The MSZMP National Conference proceedings concluded in Budapest. The closing session adopted the resolution of the National Conference and elected the party's leading bodies—the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. The new Central Committee plenum elected Janos Kadar as party chairman and Karoly Grosz as party general secretary.

Ceausescu Greets Kadar, Grosz on Election

AU2305173888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1703 GMT 23 May 88

["Congratulatory Telegrams"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/05/1988—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, sent a telegram to the president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Janos Kadar, which reads: Your election to the office of president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party gives me the opportunity to convey you, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and on my own behalf, congratulations and wishes of success in the activity of building socialism in your country.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, sent the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Karoly Grosz, the following telegram:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and on my own behalf I congratulate you on your election to the office of general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party and I wish you success in building socialist society in the Hungarian People's Republic.

I express my belief that the relations between our parties and countries will see, by common efforts, an upward course for the benefit of the Romanian people and the Hungarian people.

Afternoon Daily's Version of Gromyko Toast

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 12 May 88 pp 1-3

[Toast by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at a dinner given in his honor by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest 11 May]

Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

Dear Comrade Elena Ceausescu,

Dear Comrades,

First of all I would like to express to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the SR of Romania, my thanks for the invitation to visit your country and for the warm reception you gave us.

More than once, I have had the opportunity to visit Romania, to become acquainted with Bucharest, and to talk with workers in your country. The hospitality that we feel in your country is evidence of the firm relations of good-neighborliness that exist between the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union and of the SR of Romania.

Our relations have deep roots. And this is not just a formula of diplomatic politeness. The facts of history, both past and recent, are evidence of this.

At the beginning of the century, one of the roads that brought Lenin's "Iskra" to Petersburg and Moscow passed through Bucharest and Iasi. The Romanian socialists helped the Russian social-democrats in this action. This happened early in the revolutionary movement, which soon would be shaking the entire imperialist system to its foundations and which would overthrow the bourgeois-landlord system in Russia, in October 1917.

History has not forgotten either that the crew of the battleship "Potemkin," unvanquished by the tsars, directed the ship toward Romania, where it was received with approval by the working people. This event made a deep impression on the revolutionary masses of Russia.

In the final stages of World War II, Romanian soldiers, shoulder-to-shoulder with the Soviet liberators, took part in the struggle against fascism. The road to the den of fascism is dotted with a number of graves of Romanian soldiers alongside those of Soviet soldiers.

Also, in these spring days, the May days in which we are celebrating the victory over fascism, the Soviet people remember those who brought about this victory in the common struggle. The present alliance of the fraternal countries was born in the heat of fiery battles.

One can say with justification that, from that time on, Soviet-Romanian relations have been nourished from the fountain of friendship cemented by their common goals in the building of socialism. On the basis of a retrospective examination, from the peaks of the eighties, we see that the road taken by our peoples in building a new life has not been an easy one. And it is not too likely that their future road will be a straight and smooth path. As far as we are concerned, we Soviet Communists are confident that we will be able to transmit to our society the dynamism necessary for its development by absorbing the strength for our creative plans from the energy of the people and from its desire to overcome everything that impedes it in its continuing progress.

The course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of its 27th Congress is subordinated to this goal. This course takes concrete form in the all-inclusive term "perestroyka" [previous word in Russian]. This means that the party is looking for responses to the complex problems that reality presents, not beyond the borders of socialism but, on the contrary, in the development and in the consistent application of profound Leninist ideas, in the revelation of the strong potential of socialism, and in the revolutionary renewal of all aspects of life in Soviet society.

In implementing wide-ranging transformations, the CPSU and the Soviet state consider man to be the essential factor in their concerns, since, in the final analysis, the development of his creative forces and of his capacities for creativity is dependent on his condition and on the extent to which he feels that he is master in his country, in the life of society, and at his workplace.

The process of restructuring in the USSR has activated the masses of millions of workers. It receives and will continue to receive its powers in the future through radical economic reform and the profound democratization of the life of society, in the context of the extension of glasnost [previous word in Russian] through all means.

Restructuring involves all aspects of the economy, of the life of society, culture, and science, and of the very thoughts of men.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has formulated these problems, with complete frankness, in its decisions.

The collective reasoning and experience of the party are aimed at implementing some fundamental transformations, the acceleration of the building of socialism, and the improvement of the workers' lives. The tasks before us are complex and difficult but the party and the people are firmly resolved to overcome all obstacles that still exist today and that might exist tomorrow.

The upcoming 9th Conference of the CPSU will be an important landmark for our progress. It will expand the horizon of changes, determine the guidelines for the reorganization of the political structure, and indicate the way to increase the role of the organs of democracy.

In resolving the major problems facing the Soviet people, we are very much interested in and are striving with great attention to study the experience of the other socialist countries.

The forms of cooperation existing between the Soviet Union and Romania cover different areas. We can point to numerous positive results from our joint activity. However, the dynamics of the development of socialism are constantly formulating additional tasks. They are calling for the fuller use of the possibilities of socialism

and the enrichment, in this manner, of the content of Soviet-Romanian relations. These dynamics are calling for the improvement of their efficiency, for the peoples of both countries, and urging that a more beneficial character be imparted to all directions of collaboration.

The most important work at the present time is to transform prospects for Soviet-Romanian relations into concrete acts. The results of the discussions between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest, at the time of the official visit that the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee made to Romania in May 1987, serve as a good foundation for this.

At present, issues dealing with the expansion and deepening of mutually advantageous economic relations and the improvement of the effectiveness of bilateral collaboration are matters of constant concern. There is a common desire in this area, which is completely natural. As world experience shows, specialization and cooperation in production and the international division of labor are forms of collaboration that are more advanced than a simple increase in the volume of goods.

These forms orient production, in a much better way, toward technical- scientific progress and facilitate the fulfillment of the common objective of increasing the competitiveness of our products on the world market. It is no wonder that these issues are regularly discussed by the representatives of our countries. Looking at the future of Soviet-Romanian economic relations, we see a much richer spectrum characterized by greater diversity. However, this accurate general thesis must be translated into concrete collaboration programs.

Just as the waters of the Danube are formed by its many affluents, our relations are composed of thousands of threads that link the Soviet and Romanian peoples, the speaker said. A contribution to their mutual enrichment could be made by the further expansion of contacts between party organizations, work collectives, regions, counties, and cities in the border zones, and of ties of friendship between the people.

The picture of our collaboration would certainly be incomplete if I did not mention contacts in the fields of culture, science, and education; and contacts through friendship associations, trade unions, youth organizations, women's organizations, and other mass organizations. It seems that the possibilities for developing collaboration in all these directions have not yet been completely used.

Permit me, in the name of the Soviet leadership, to express some thoughts about international issues.

The beneficial influence of new political thought is making itself felt more and more in world politics, and this is something that is easy to understand. Mankind is headed toward the day in which the present century, the 20th century, will yield its place to the 21st century. Or, figuratively speaking, the two centuries will look each other in the eye. Of course, the problem of the legacy that our century will leave the next century is already presenting itself with full force. Undoubtedly, everyone wants our legacy to be peace, disarmament and, above all, the elimination of nuclear weapons.

No sensible person would try to deny that many dozens of states, and even entire continents, are living in conditions of poverty and with a lack of rights, under the yoke of servitude imposed on them by some big industrial powers. One of the most effective means of eliminating this state of economic servitude would be disarmament and the transfer of the resources released so that they would be of assistance to the needy countries.

Also, of course, the United Nations, whose activity is paralyzed by those who do not want to give up the arms race, could also do much in this regard.

It is the duty of all states, large and small, regardless of the social system under which one people or another is living and developing, to do all they can to ensure disarmament and peace on earth.

Mankind is still impressed by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington. This document was welcomed as a triumph for reason.

At present, as we know, intensive negotiations are under way to conclude an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America for the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, while observing the ABM Treaty. The removal of all obstacles in the way of signing this agreement is an important and complex task, but one which can be resolved. It can be resolved if both sides desire an agreement equally and if they are fully resolved to conclude the negotiations with positive results.

For its part, the Soviet Union is trying to achieve this very thing. It is demonstrating that it is willing and that it is doing all it can to successfully cross this historic threshhold on the road to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. It would be desirable if the talks during the forthcoming visit to Moscow by the President of the United States of America would take place in this spirit.

We highly appreciate the efforts of fraternal countries directed at the elimination of the nuclear threat. In this respect, the initiatives of Romania and Bulgaria in setting up a zone in the Balkans, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, receive our full support. The realization of this idea as well as other constructive proposals of the socialist countries would be an important contribution to the process of disarmament, the organization of regional and pan-European collaboration, and the strengthening of security and trust in Europe.

World public opinion welcomed, with enormous satisfaction, the signing of the agreements on Afganistan, in Geneva. These agreements have not only been a step toward peace in the region but have also demonstrated convincingly that a political settlement of regional conflicts is the right road in international affairs. They have demonstrated, once again, to all peoples, the attractiveness and effectiveness of the new political thinking and the peace-loving foreign policy course of socialism and the Warsaw Pact member states.

Let me take this opportunity to wish the workers in socialist Romania great successes in carrying out the decisions of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, and also happiness and prosperity.

May the unbreakable friendship between our countries and peoples grow in strength! (Strong applause)

Dascalescu To Pay 'Working Visit' to GDR

AU2305180788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/05/1988—Constantin Dascalescu, Romanian prime minister, will pay a working visit the following days to the German Democratic Republic at the invitation of Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

RCP Sends Message to Canadian CP Congress

AU2305131588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0646 GMT 23 May 88

["RCP Message of Greetings to the Congress of the Communist Party of Canada—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/05/1988—On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu warm comradely greetings and the best wishes of success were conveyed to participants by RCP representative Radu Balan, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The participation of an RCP delegation to the Congress of the Communist Party of Canada, the message said, is an expression of the good relations between the two parties, of their wish to intensify their relations in the interests of the Romanian and Canadian peoples, of the cause of world peace, security and understanding.

The message stresses that, at a time when serious and complex problems persist in the international life, the RCP, Nicolae Ceausescu regard as necessary the strengthening of the unity of revolutionary, antiimperialist and realistic forces in the fight for the safeguarding of peace and the achievement of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, for the reduction of conventional arms, troops and military spending, for the aversion of the militarization of space.

Romania was shown to have taken consistent action for the promotion of detente and development of cooperation in Europe and worldwide, firmly founding its relations with all the states on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, renunciation of the threat and use of force.

The position of principle of the RCP and Romanian state was shown to favour the peaceful political negotiated settlement of all conflicts and disputes, the withdrawal of foreign troops to within national borders, an end to all foreign interference in the domestic affairs of states, a democratic development of all the states of the world in freedom and independence.

Romania gave and will continue to give its full support to the peoples fighting for national independence, for economic and social progress, for their right to build the society they wish. We state our solidarity with and back the actions of the developing countries for a constructive international dialogue to eradicate the problems of underdevelopment, and promote a new world economic order, in line with the interests of progress and prosperity of all nations.

The message reiterates the RCP's consistent stand favouring stronger relations with the communist and worker parties, with the socialist and social democratic parties, with other democratic and progressive parties and forces all over the world.

Krunic Sends Congratulations to Kadar, Grosz

LD2305101888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0857 GMT 23 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—On behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and on his own behalf, Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent a message of congratulations to Janos Kadar, chairman of the MSZMP, in connection with his election to that office, and also to Karoly Grosz in connection with his election as MSZMP general secretary.

Mikulic Departs for Official Visit to Japan

LD2405105188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0950 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—Today Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, left on an official and friendly visit to Japan at the invitation of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita.

The visit by the president of the FEC is in return for a visit to Yugoslavia last year by Yasuhiro Nakasone, then Japanese prime minister.

The talks between Mikulic and Takeshita are primarily expected to be directed toward opportunities to comprehensively strengthen economic relations between the two countries.

As part of Mikulic's visit, from 26 to 28 May, he expects, among other things, to be received by Emperor Hirohito.

En route to Japan, Mikulic will stop in Paris where he will meet French Prime Minister Michel Rocard. This will be Rocard's first meeting with a foreign statesman since assuming this post.

Branko Mikulic is accompanied by Bozidar Matic, FEC member and president of the Federal Committee for Science and Technology, who is also president of the Mixed Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation with Japan; Trajko Trajkovski, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and Goran Kapetanovic, head of the cabinet and FEC foreign political adviser.

Rikanovic Holds Talks With U.S. Ambassador

LD2105045188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—Svetozar Rikanovic, member of the FEC and federal secretary for finance, had talks today with John Scanlan, U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, on some questions of bilateral financial and banking cooperation, as well as multilateral financial cooperation.

TANJUG Previews Upcoming LCY Conference

LD2205130088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1142 GMT 22 May 88

[By Zoran Sekulic]

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—Delegates to the conference of Yugoslav Communists opening here next Sunday are expected to be much more critical than those at earlier big party meetings. The underlying reasons are the difficult social problems—from a serious economic situation, blockade of the political system and shortcomings in the Constitution, to the weaknesses within the party itself.

Judging by current debates throughout the country on the draft theses for the conference, party members are more radical than the leaderships in their demands for change in the party and society. It was noted that the crisis had come very close to the "limit of tolerance" and that a turnabout is essential.

One of the main messages of members before the conference is the demand for unity in the party ranks and, especially, leadership. Nobody has anything against observance of the objectively existing different traits of Yugoslavia, a federation of six republics and two autonomous provinces. What is unacceptable, however, is a transformation of all these traits into "specific features" to be subsequently defended by local interests ina stubborn, blackmailing manner. It is impossible to deal exclusively with what bothers the republics and provinces, but a common Yugoslav interest must be defined, and this precisely is what is lacking now.

The conference, which is second only to a congress of Yugoslav Communists in relation to decision-making, cannot be expected to settle the problems overnight. However, it must necessarily offer a clear answer to the question of why the dogmatic and technocratic concepts of social development and "personal union" between the party and the state are not definitively broken with.

What is required is unqualified endorsement by the party of an unhampered market orientation of the economy, a thorough social deregulation, radical changes in the Constitution, and the building of selfmanagement socialism as a society marked with a full, democratic openness to the public.

At the same time the League of Communists must initiate a process of its own renewal. The way it is today—disunited, bureaucratized, divided according to interests and burdened with an outdated method of work—the party cannot pull society out of the crisis.

Kucan on Rumors About 'Military Intervention'

AU2405125188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 May 88 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Rumors About Military Intervention"]

[Text] At the session they held today [20 May], the members of the Slovene LC Central Committee were also given a report that the Republican Committee for Information prepared for the public on rumors that military intervention [udar] had been planned in Slovenia at the end of March.

Milan Kucan commented on these rumors at today's session by saying the following: "Twice at the Central Committee session, we discussed matters connected with some articles published by MLADINA. Discussions were also held in the federal and in LC organs, and some differences in assessments were noted. The Military Council also discussed this issue at the end of March. It was clear from the statement issued at that session that some views and assessments were different from those that we had adopted.

"Proceeding from the assessments adopted by our Central Committee, we, on behalf of our Presidium, expressed our disagreement with these assessments at the LCY Central Committee Presidium session.

"But now," Kucan pointed out, "when one expected the thing to be over, it is obvious that it is in somebody's interest to raise the issue again.

"Considering the proportions that the rumors have reached and comments in both domestic and foreign press, a report was prepared at the initiative of the Executive Council. The direct cause is, of course, the questions raised by the Maribor and Ljubljana University Conferences of Socialist Youth Organizations.

"The Republican Committee for Information received the following explanations from appropriate organs: The Military Council met on 25 March this year. The agenda did not contain a discussion on any kind of action for 'defense against a special war in Slovenia.' The Military Council's meeting was held at a time of very intensive discussions and assessments of articles on the conception of All People's Defense and the Yugoslav People's Army. Thus, at the above-mentioned session of the Military Council, these topics were discussed.

"The Slovene Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Ljubljana Military District Command cooperate and coordinate their work in the performance of joint tasks. Therefore, at the meeting called at the suggestion of the Military District Command, the representatives of both organs discussed the content of the report from the session of the Military Council which contained, among other things, the following assessments: 'That this is a matter of a special war, which has not been started by the editorial boards of some newspapers and magazines, as these are merely an operative factor.'

"The representatives of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs warned that they did not have any facts that would justify such an assessment, nor any facts about a subversive force being behind the writings in the Slovene press. They also said that these assessments adversely affect political circumstances in Slovenia."

Slovene Daily Supports Mikulic's Proposals

AU2005073888 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 17 May 88 p 4

[Boris Jez commentary: "'Economic' and Other Amendments"]

[Text] It is rather unusual for the federal premier to set deadlines for the public discussion on constitutional matters, but even such an "abnormality" (from the viewpoint of modern theories on political systems) may be normal in our situation. At the latest joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, Branko Mikulic proposed that the procedure for adopting the constitutional amendments should be shortened so that it would be completed by the middle of September. He even used the term, "we insist on this...," which goes to show that it is not a quite "ordinary" proposal, but that it contains at least some elements of a demand. The delegates did not resent this Branko Mikulic move, but they decided that they will take a vote on the proposal-demand at the next session. They did the right thing, for the government on many occasions literally pushed the Assembly against the wall, so that it adopted important decisions in a hurry, without any opportunity for a thorough review. In particular it is not possible to decide suddenly on such an important matter as the curtailing of the constitutional discussion. Such an act certainly has various political implications, and therefore one should welcome the delegates' decision that the Assembly Constitutional Commission should first examine it thoroughly.

The Mikulic proposal-demand nevertheless has its logic and it is realistic to expect that the Constitutional Commission will support it. Mikulic had in mind only the so-called "economic" amendments, which is to say those corrections to the Constitution without which the modernization of the economic system is impossible. One knows that the government commission for changes in the economic system is preparing specific proposals that should be applied as of 1 January. We really do not know why all the "big things" in our country should happen precisely on 1 January, but obviously this is such a strong psychological constant in Yugoslav politics that one must accept it.

Anyhow, it would be good if all the actors in the constitutional discussion now showed a proper measure of political reason, so that they would at least not

"obstruct" the framing of the amendments in the field of the economic system. It is obvious that they can be "written" by the middle of September as Branko Mikulic proposes, for the official policy almost in all parts of Yugoslavia at least overtly manifests agreement on the majority of the main questions: The pluralism of ownership forms, deregulation of self-management, profit as the basic criterion for success, stocks, foreign investment, new "approaches" in the banking system, and so forth. As regards the disputed questions, for instance the so-called exceptional revenue or obligatory (prescribed) accumulation, it seems that they could be, without any harm, completely omitted from the constitutional documents. In this connection, the proper measure of "political discipline" could also be shown by the proposers of these matters: They should renounce their demand that one should regulate even the things that need not be regulated.

Serbian, Slovene Ideas on Economy Discussed

AU2205164588 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 88 p 1

[Vjekoslav Krsnik commentary: "Serbia and Slovenia"]

[Text] In our everyday Yugoslav debate, which naturally gains in importance and significance with the aggravation of the social and economic crisis, certain stereotypes have been created both for domestic and foreign use.

According to those stereotypes that exist despite the fact that some sober voices oppose them, all proposals coming from Slovenia are—depending on how one looks at it—either forward-looking, innovative, democratic, and progressive, or counterrevolutionary, anti-self-managing, nationalist, and separatist.

The same applies to Serbia, so everything it advocates is—again depending on how one looks at it—dogmatic, unitarist, bureaucratic, and conservative, or progressive, reformative, revolutionary, and Yugoslav.

From a philosophical point of view, or put in a simple way, the only thing that can pull this country out of the crisis are progressive solutions that would equal the top contemporary achievements of this country—as a part of the international community—no matter where those solutions come from. The only question is what individual people mean by progress. Yet it is, in any case, clear that progress can only be—as it has always been during our more recent postwar past—those moves that open new roads to democracy.

One of the basic questions of the present moment is finding a solution to the grave and worrying economic situation. On the agenda now is the battle between the advocates of market and of consent economy.

As Janez Stanovnik, new president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, said in his inauguration speech last week, "the market is to the economy as democracy is to society." There is no doubt that the solution to this basic economic dilemma is the key to solving all our ideological uncertainties. If the model of a market economy is adopted, the force of social laws would reactivate all the blocked processes of the general democratization of society and its institution. This is obviously the Rubicon that Yugoslavia would have to cross in order to catch up with the image it created some 40 years ago not only by giving a resolute "no" to Stalin, but also by introducing self-management, which is now experiencing a kind of reaffirmation in the rest of the socialist world.

In the current social and economic crisis, Slovenia has undoubtedly been the harbinger of the market model of economy, both in the theoretical and practical sense. It has had followers in other parts of Yugoslavia to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the strength of the forces there that support the "consent economy."

On that very day when the first man of Slovenia, Janez Stanovnik, pronounced the above-mentioned words, the outline of the foundations of the economic system drafted by the so-called "Milosevic commission" was presented in Belgrade. Put down in 14 concise points, the outline advocates market and open economy, an integral market of goods, labor, social capital, and knowledge. Opposing state regulations, the outline advocates the independence of economic factors, investment of foreign capital, etc.

We shall not go into the reasons why this Serbian draft was promoted before the similar Yugoslav project made by the "Mikulic commission," or at least during the latter's presentation on the eve of the enforcement of new economic measures on 15 May, but there is still one important conclusion to be drawn: Slovene and Serbian views of one certainly very important question pertaining to our Yugoslav crisis have found themselves on the same wavelength by advocating what one—without going into details—can call the same economic model.

Considering the above-mentioned qualms, which pit Slovenia and Serbia against each another, the general Yugoslav meaning of this event extends far beyond the borders of the two republics.

Does this mean that Slovenia's persistent advocacy of a market economy finally achieved official support in Serbia, which is an important element of the Yugoslav federation, thus opening up the possibilities of alleviating obvious contradictions on other issues too? On the other hand, does this mean that after the euphoria of the eighth LC Central Committee session, Serbia is moving from showy declarations to the firm ground of reality? Is this an introduction to a new—let us use Slovene vocabulary—innovative Yugoslav reality? Considering what events will take place by the end of this month, including the LCY Conference, some more definite and resolute answers will fortunately not be long in arriving.

Assembly's Vote of Confidence Examined

AU2005142788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 88 p 13

[Commentary by Milorad Petrovic: "The Rules of Democratic Life" carried by Belgrade Television—date not given]

[Text] It is a fact that the demand of the assemblies of Slovenia and Croatia that there should be a vote of no confidence against the present FEC has set a precedent in our sociopolitical practice, but it is also somewhat strange that this constitutional democratic right has never been used before.

Over many years, namely, we have been getting used to the relations between the SFRY Assembly and the FEC, as its executive body, being slowly reduced to a kind of formalism where the rules of the game are already known, because many disputed issues pertaining to the country's economy were solved outside the delegate bodies. The illusory peace thereby created is now shaken by the present economic crisis. Slovene and Croatian delegates have used their constitutional right. There will probably be more such situations in the future, and we simply have to get used to all the things that the democratization of political life brings. After all, such a harsh debate, which was aboveboard, where remarks and interests are presented publicly and not in the corridors or at closed sessions, can only help us to arrive at a better economic program and a better and more responsible government.

However, the rules of democratic life imply that when something has been voted for by the majority it must be complied with by everybody, irrespective of their previous orientation.

It happens in parliamentary democracies, too, that the government is elected by a majority of two or three votes, but nobody later questions the legitimacy of its decisions. Let us recall, the FEC received support from two-thirds of the SFRY Assembly delegates. Therefore, one must not allow the divisions that existed before the vote to continue after the government was extended support. It is the great responsibility of republics and provinces to have the FEC's program of measures, which was adopted by the SFRY Assembly on Sunday, implemented with joint forces and in a unified manner.

The Assembly's decision to extend its confidence in the FEC for the next 2 years can neither be interpreted as somebody's defeat nor as somebody else's victory, but as the reasonable decision that we are closer to the way out of the crisis this way than we would have been with a possible new FEC, whatever it capabilities might be.

Proposed Income Regulations Criticized

AU1905210388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 May 88 p 13

[K. Vlahov article reprinted from KOMUNIST: "The Point of a Pointless Act"]

[Text] ...The opening of the FEC package will not make all the measures envisaged for personal incomes implementable. First of all, the resolution on development will have to be changed according to them. Then, these new relations will have to be ensured through intervention laws. This will have to be followed by changes in income agreements and in a pile of self-managing agreements in the republics and provinces, and in branches and groups of industry. And, since a dessert is served at the end, there will be a number of pointless meetings of the working people and citizens, so that everything could end in tonnes of decisions and incomprehensible forms that no longer interest the Social Accounting Service auditors, never mind the workers.

And now a question is being asked: Who needs all this nonsense if everything is agreed on and is precisely calculated in advance?

Certainly not the IMF, for I doubt that any of the gentlemen in the IMF even know about the real jungle of agreements, accords reached at gatherings, decisions, and checks with which Yugoslavia regulates personal incomes that they themselves would not even consider pocket money. Moreover, if they knew this, and if they were interested, I think that it would occur at least to some of them to look for the solutions for Yugoslavia in reducing the mountain of this waste, rather than to provide financial support.

The workers need this even less. Why would one go through the personal incomes of the workers in the textile industry with such a fine toothcomb if the labor cost of a suit worth 27 million old dinars is only 700,000 old dinars, or 2.6 percent? Should one control even this?

Of course, what is left is the state and its government, because they too must somehow demonstrate their power. And since this wish is reinforced with the knowledge that the real prerogative of the authorities' power has been transferred to other hands, do not be surprised if the future regulations on personal incomes—which will continue to fall in real terms—are even stricter than those governing personal incomes during the last and similar freezes.

If you ponder this, you should not think for a minute that some people in the government do not understand the nonsense of the work that will soon be imposed on all of us. In fact, the opposite is the case. In this nonsense, they see the point of their existence, because when they

realize that, because of the mountain of these restrictions, the workers' motivation for work and improvement of social ownership has disappeared, then the state will appear again to save the government from the workers.

SAWPY Conference Approves Program Changes

LD2305214488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 23 May 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—The SAWPY Federal Conference today approved the changes and additions to the SAWPY program objectives and statute. It was stressed that the new solutions make it possible for the Socialist Alliance to be updated organizationally and from the action point of view, and to become a place for genuine democratic dialogue and massive participation of the working people and citizens in resolving current and future development tasks. The changes that have taken place also ensure the unity of the organization, and the manifestation of the differences that are particular to its separate parts. [passage omitted]

Draft measures and addenda received full support in the discussion, except that some forumulations were redefined on the basis of discussions and submitted amendments.

Disagreements and disputes were caused by an amendment by the delegates from Slovenia, who sought the substitution of an entire paragraph in the draft changes and additions regulating SAWP membership. The amendment was rejected, but the plea was accepted that it should be stressed that activity in the SAWP is the constitutional right of the working people and citizens (inserting the word "constitutional"). [passage omitted]

Joze Smole, speaking on behalf of the Slovene delegates, expressed his regret that though recognition was given to Tito in the introductory part of the SAWPY program goals and statutes for his great historical role in the development of the SAWP, there was no acceptance of the proposal that note be made of the contribution of Edvard Kardelj to the founding of this organization. Edvard Kardelj was directly involved in forming the SAWP into an all-people's parliament, Smole said.

This proposal of the Slovene SAWP was not accepted in the proceedings on the consideration of the draft changes and addenda. It was assessed that this would have required mentioning other personalities who made their mark on SAWP activities. [passage omitted]

Within the framework of the discussion on the report, Zeljko Jeglic drew attention to a disagreement on activity in international relations, which has resulted in an illusory dilemma—Europe or nonalignment, Jeglic stated. In the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference and in the Council of the SAWPY Federal Conference for International Relations, there is acceptance of the orientation that our constant orientation should be toward our nonalignment, enriched with a strong European component and greater presence among the generators of development.

Objections to and dilemmas over this orientation range from hand waving, as if to say, "What can we get from collaboration with the nonaligned countries, when for us, in a crisis such as we are in, it is of vital importance for us to link up with the European engine of association and development, to incomprehensible theorizing, which sees the scope for strengthening the European component only in the simultaneous neglect of our activities in the nonaligned world?"

According to Jeglic, the truth lies precisely in the opposite. We are not advocating the more pronounced presence of Yugoslavia in the overall European area merely because of our economic interests, but also because we believe that by an active European policy of cooperation we will increase our importance and possibilities in the nonaligned world. In the principles of nonalignment, there is nothing that would impede stepping forward in the spirit of the times. The time has come when we must prove that we are at the same time a nonaligned and actively involved part of Europe, Jeglic stressed.

After discussing the report, the Federal Conference elected Dr Bozidar Colakovic as president for the coming year, and Josip Hrvatin as secretary for a 2-year mandate. They were elected to these posts because the mandates of Milojko Drulovic and Stojan Dimovski have ended. A change was also made to the leadership of the Confernece for the Social Activity of Women of Yugoslavia. Zofka Klemen Krek was elected to replace Marta Mikic.

Colakovic and Hrvatin have been members of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, and were elected to their new posts on the proposal of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference and the Croatian SAWP Republican Conference. Zofka Klemen Krek takes up her new appointment on the proposal of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference. [passage omitted]

At the end of the session, an initiative launched by the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium on the founding of a forum for human rights was accepted. Explaining the proposal to set up a new federal conference body, Mirko Ostojic said that the idea is based in the UN Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights.

Members of the Federal Conference requested the Presidium to make preparations to constitute the forum.

Suvar: LC Must Drop 'Political Monopoly'

AU2005203188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke at the discussion forum of the Marxist Center of the Intercommunal Conference of the LC of Split last night. We report some of the highlights:

The LCY Conference should contribute to the maturing and a clear shaping of a new conscience and political will, not only in the LCY, but among all the organized socialist forces, in the workers class, and the broadest strata of the people, Suvar said. According to Suvar, the conference will not pass in general agreement, but in general confrontation. However, it must achieve the basic in the long-term strategy of Yugoslav socialism: to make the LC capable of changing, for this is the only way to get out of the crisis.

In order that we may find our way of the crisis, Suvar believes that we must retain our strategy of self-management, as well as of concord and unity. We need a greater clarity of views on the prospects of socialism in our country and in the world, without a pathological grinding of Croatian and Serbian axes, preoccupation with the Slovene syndrome, Europeanization, and Balkanization. Even the situation in Kosovo could improve only within this context.

The LC must drop its political monopoly, and it must no longer be an arbiter standing on the side or above everything, or interfering in administrative powers. Suvar stressed that the LC must pay much more attention to morals, socialist and Communist, because the society that compromises its own principles is the one that goes down most quickly.

Therefore, the LC must seriously take stock of its rank, both in the moral and in the ideological aspects, for we do not need ideologically devoted but morally depraved members of the LC. Differentiation is not Stalinism. It is up to all of us to pull ourselves together and to not let ourselves weaken the country internally, Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said, among other things, at the Split Marxist Center discussion forum.

Loncar Speaks in Slovenia on Foreign Policy

LD1905190188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 19 May 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 May (TANJUG)—Relations between the superpowers, which have experienced a big change from deep confrontation to a system of reaching agreements, are the focus of world public attention. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, stressed this when he spoke about Yugoslavia's international position at a joint session of the Commission for International Relations of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia and the Republican Committee for International Cooperation.

The negotiations between the superpowers, which have intensified, have had a chain reaction on all international relations, Loncar said. He added that their relations, in view of the strength of their effect, are of crucial importance for world stability. He stressed particularly the foresight of President Tito, who in 1960 at a UN jubilee session initiated a meeting of five leaders from nonbloc countries, which was of great significance.

Today when the two superpowers are holding meetings, the significance and far-reaching effects of their relations are being confirmed, and the rest of the world is interested in these relations and their development. In this connection, Loncar explained in detail the four issues that deeply affect the interests of many countries: nuclear arms, tactical and commercial arms, regional questions, or the so-called hotbeds of crisis in the world, and human freedoms.

In response to questions, Loncar explained in detail what is happening today in the European processes expressed through the CSCE. He also detailed the position of the group of neutral and nonaligned countries within these frameworks, what all this together means for the independence and security of a European country, and what Yugoslavia is doing in this area. The CSCE started at the time when the atmosphere of detente was prevalent, and it was the result of this atmosphere. Through this process, later the reality of Europe was reflected, and the CSCE process should constantly strengthen the sovereignty of the countries taking part in it. The group of neutral and nonaligned countries is outside the blocs and can represent pluralist and nonbloc interests. Now the group has started its affirmative action with this document, which we submitted at the CSCE and which we expect to be endorsed as early as this July, Loncar said.

Speaking about the new processes in Europe, Loncar commented in particular on cooperation between the Alpe Adria member countries, which started to develop 10 years ago on the basis of regional initiatives.

At present we are in a situation, Loncar said, whereby we should give to this a political dimension and an orientation toward the future in accordance with the trends in Europe. Specific interests and needs are taking shape in Alpe Adria, which will very well suit our nonaligned foreign policy.

Speaking about world trends, which are increasingly moving toward interdependance and changes and very wide and numerous multilateral communication, Loncar said that diplomacy is reaching a new situation, its role is increasing, and all this requires reorientation. Our diplomacy must understand that new times have come, it should be more mobile, modern, surrounded by all the new opportunities offered by the world of computer science.

Describing the development and the way already traveled by our foreign policy in the last 40 years, Loncar stressed that the foreign service has not been adapting to new conditions. The foreign service is stagnating in its development, and we have reached a stage that requires rapid changes. Democracy requires the socialization of the service, the time of computer science brings new

opportunities in communication, and a change in generations has taken place. All these factors, Budimir Loncar stressed, have brought about the need for the modernization of the foreign service. It is also necessary to reduce the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, while our network abroad is adequate. But a great deal still needs to be done on the rationalization of work and greater coordination of all those who take part in conducting foreign policy, said Budimir Loncar, secretary for foreign affairs.

Dizdarevic Receives Trade Representatives

LD2105101688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 20 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received in Belgrade, in the palace of the federation, a delegation of representatives of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber Abroad.

Milan Pavic, president of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, and members of the delegation, familiarized the president of the SFRY Presidency with the work and activities of the Economic Chamber, especially with its economic relations with foreign countries. They stressed that our country, despite all the problems and difficulties, has realistic preconditions for finding a way even more successfully into the world market. However, it was said, we must organize ourselves significantly better for joint dealings abroad so that, among other things, we do not place obstacles in our own path by disloyal competition.

Raif Dizdarevic stressed, it was reported, that our society is in a situation in which we all must make exceptional efforts, and this is a juncture at which we must, in Yugoslavia, come up rapidly with solutions that will lead us out of the crisis. Now, Dizdarevic said, we must concentrate most on a few key questions. Stressing the importance of such an approach, he noted that to a large extent we have lost the capability to concentrate on several things which, when we make improvements in them, give rise to the need for us to resolve or compel us to resolve other questions as well. Up until now, we have "shaken everything out" onto the table and simply got lost in it all, Dizdarevic said.

The president of the SFRY Presidency stressed that we must, above all, concentrate on reviving economic activity, because everything we talk about, give guidelines for, and intend, without the revival of economic activity and without securing economic growth, is impossible to accomplish because we do not have a basis on which we can found these efforts and arrive at the desired result. The levers of the lasting revival of economic activity and economic growth in Yugoslavia are precisely foreign economic relations and advancement in this area, Dizdarevic said.

We must likewise concentrate too on the implementation of the program that we have agreed to and the realization of the agreement that we have achieved with the IMF. Of particular importance here, Dizdarevic said, is the curbing of inflation, which "eats into" every healthy work result which, such as it is, makes nonsense of efforts to generate greater productivity, better organization, new technologies, greater business efficiency, and other things, because everything is "sorted out" by an increase in prices.

For this to succeed, it is essential that, in addition to the so-called May measures, which have elements of a reforming character, economic reform be brought to a conclusion—and in a very bold way. Competent organs should, until the moment of the adoption of the constitutional amendments, perform all work so that the laws in which changes to the economic system are proposed are placed before the SFRY Assembly immediately, so that the economy knows as soon as possible the conditions in which it will operate on a more lasting basis.

Raif Dizdarevic stressed that we must immediately be oriented toward and united in the realization of the program for emerging from the intervention measures, the implementation of the agreement with the IMF, and accelerated work on economic reform and constitutional changes, above all, in that part that relates to economic reform. He said that on this occasion too our business stagnation is expressed and that we are again wasting time in discussion instead of taking action. He stressed that the situation within the country is such that it requires more rapid changes and that any procrastination and postponement of the changes will bring new problems and harm. Unless we give to the economy the possibility to prepare itself for what awaits it in the new conditions, (?years) will be lost, with all the economic, social, political, and international consequences for the interests and situation in our country.

He stressed that this is not the time for routine work and that we should not lose the battle we are fighting, because if we lose it we will be losing all previous battles as well. President Dizdarevic also indicated to our business representatives abroad some concrete questions and problems of importance to their work in connection with increasing our exports and foreign exchange earnings.

Dizdarevic Visits Novi Sad International Fair

LD2105123088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 20 May 88

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 20 May (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic today visited the 55th international agricultural fair in Novi Sad. Together with Nandor Major, president of the Vojvodina Presidency, and Sava Vujkov, chairman of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, he spent several hours in talks with representatives of the largest Yugoslav agro-industrial combines and producers of agricultural machinery. [passage omitted]

At all the stands at which we talked with exhibitors, we gained the opinion that Yugoslavia has great possibilities in the agricultural industry, and that it has a big, but unexploited, potential for greater food production. This would contribute to the revival of the economy as a whole, and secure the more rapid development of our country, Raif Dizdarevic stated after visiting the fair.

In talks with exhibitors during our tour of the fair, Dizdarevic said, we heard a multitude of proposals from people who work in agriculture about how the otherwise very difficult situation in the agricultural industry should be improved by economic policy, and how such measures could ensure the use of existing possibilities for greater food production and exports. This is not a possibility that needs to be looked for—but a possibility that should be made full use of, Dizdarevic stressed.

I hope that all comrades from all the organs who have come to this year's international agricultural fair in Novi Sad have, in this respect, had great benefit from their talks with responsible people in the combines, in their talks with private producers, who are also participating here and who have something to show and also something to say, he said. I hope that all the comrades who came to the Novi Sad fair, and who are directly responsible for economic pllicy and for finalizing the measures that we are now undertaking in the wake of the latest measures, will be conscious of this, and that the opinions expressed to them by the producers will be of benefit.

To the extent to which we ensure this, I am convinced that next year, at the next fair, there should be much more cheerfulness, much less worry, and results that will reveal agriculture and the whole agricultural industry as an expression of a common effort toward our finding a way out of the difficulties and of standing on firm feet. After all, the possibilities in Yugoslav agriculture and the food-processing industry are tremendous. It depends on us as to whether or not we want to exploit them, whether or not we will work more rapidly or more slowly in this very important field of the economy—sluggishness is very expensive, Raif Dizdarevic stated after touring the fair.

Kadijevic Message Marks Air Force Day

LD2105134888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0808 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 May (TANJUG)—On the occasion of 21 May, Air Force and Air Defense Day, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, extended a message of greetings and good wishes to all the soldiers, cadets, officers, and civilians in the service of this arm of our Armed Forces.

The federal secretary's message points out that the significant results being achieved in the combat development of our Air Force and air defense are the fruit of the great efforts our community is making in the development of the Armed Forces, and of the exceptional endeavors and devoted work of the members of Air Force and air defense in all spheres of activity. Future tasks will require even more study and work on your part, as well as a speedier development and more successful inclusion and use of science in the process of combat development and modernization of the Air Force and air defense, and the further strengthening of the moral-political unity of your collectives. May you be continually inspired in carrying out your tasks by the gains of our revolution and its aims, as well as by the realization that the efforts that you make are directed solely toward securing the peaceful socialist self-managing development of our country, Gen Kadijevic's message states.

The federal secretary for national defense also extended his greetings to all industrial collectives and institutions linked to the Air Force, civilian aviation transport organizations, and members of the Aviation Federation and the Federation of Astronautical and Rocket Organizations of Yugoslavia.